

SCOTS KINSHIP, MIGRATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENT  
IN SOUTHWESTERN NEWFOUNDLAND

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SCOTS KINSHIP, MIGRATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENT  
IN SOUTHWESTERN NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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the requirements for the degree of

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Whole neighbourhoods formed parties for removal; so that departure from their native country is no longer exile. He sits down in a better climate surrounded by his kindred and his friends ... they change nothing but the place of their abode ... This is the real effect of emigration, if those that go away together settle on the same spot and preserve their ancient union.

Samuel Johnson: Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, 1773.

## ABSTRACT

The rôle of kinship has not achieved prominence in geographical studies of migration and rural settlement. The present study examines the impact of a traditional kinship system, that of the Scottish clan, on the migration of Highland Scots to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and, via Cape Breton, to southwestern Newfoundland. The nature and persistence of Scots kinship ties in Newfoundland, until the third generation after settlement, is documented and analyzed, as is their effect on settlement morphology. Kinship is shown to underpin the development of 'clachan' forms in the Newfoundland-Scottish settlements examined, and a hitherto undocumented importance of affinal kinship links is noted.

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## CHAPTER I

### KINSHIP, RURAL SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATIONS:

#### A GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW

Despite repeated reference by geographers to the importance of kinship in the processes of migration and settlement formation, few have ever examined its role. Demangeon, one of the pioneers in the study of rural settlement in Europe, suggests that "it seems possible that ... kinship relations were the bonds of social groups ... and this ancient familial organization would be the framework of the first village communities."<sup>1</sup> More recently, much of the geographical literature on the evolution and social character of the Atlantic European hamlet mentions the significance of blood ties, but fails to analyse them in any detail.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, social factors generally have been treated rather casually by most geographers examining rural settlement. Brookfield criticizes the "Berkeley School" of cultural geographers for their failure to analyse social organization as expressed in the settlement pattern, and argues for more "human" explanations and closer ties with other social scientists, especially sociologists and anthropologists.<sup>3</sup> Mikesell supports this view in a cogent argument for links between geographers and anthropologists, and asserts that "... with the possible exception of some highly technical work on kinship ... virtually the entire range of anthropological research is both intelligible to geographers and relevant to geography."<sup>4</sup>



While the geographical literature on rural settlement in Europe expresses at least an awareness of the importance of kinship, the analogous North American literature does not.<sup>5</sup> A rare exception is a recent publication by Bohland which examines the impact of kinship ties on the evolution of rural settlement in North East Georgia. His pioneer article is brief and tentative, reflecting a general unawareness of the intricacies inherent in anthropological concepts concerning kinship,<sup>6</sup> but he does manage to demonstrate adequately that the influence of kinship on settlement pattern cannot be ignored.<sup>7</sup>

By contrast, Macpherson, one of the few geographers to carry out a detailed examination of kinship and land tenure, uncovered an intricate and delicate balance between a variety of kinship mechanisms which operated to sustain the agnatic structure of Highland society, which was the basis for landholding in the Scottish Highlands.<sup>8</sup> His series of related studies examines mediaeval and post-mediaeval clan structure in the parish of Laggan, in Badenoch, and traces its survival and social change to the mid-Nineteenth Century. As a result of this approach, the interaction between social, economic and territorial aspects of this kin-oriented society was defined more precisely than ever before. Unfortunately, students of the settlement morphology of the Scottish clachan (i.e. a kin group cluster of houses with an economic basis in joint farming) have not seen fit to investigate the kinship networks which existed within the settlement form they are investigating. Fairhurst,<sup>9</sup> Gailey,<sup>10</sup> Storrie<sup>11</sup> and others all acknowledge the kin group as the basis of the clachan, but none have attempted any analysis along kinship lines.

By contrast, anthropologists - or, more specifically, cultural ecologists - have long been aware of the importance of kin in the organization of communities, and the manifestation of this fact in the settlement pattern. A seminal statement by Steward<sup>12</sup> on environmental influences in the shaping of social patterns has been followed by a number of scholarly essays on this topic.<sup>13</sup> 'Kinship and settlement' has remained a central concern of anthropology, and this literature has much to offer the geographer. While most American cultural ecologists have examined non-Western societies, there are some studies in English of rural, Western cultures. Fox, for example, examines the impact of kinship on the landholding and settlement pattern of Tory Island and argues for co-operation of anthropologist, geographer and historian to unravel what is an extremely complex situation.

An analysis by Rees, a sociologist, of social organization in a parish in North Wales, examines family life, the interplay between rural neighbourhoods and hamlets, and the significance of blood ties. While Rees himself did not consider the geographical implications of his data, their usefulness to a geographer attempting to analyse location, distribution and character of settlement cannot be underestimated. Such detailed data as the following might well constitute the field notes of a geographer:

William ... lives ... at a holding he has recently acquired. His widowed mother lives at the parental home - a mile-and-a-half away with his two unmarried brothers and one sister. A neighbouring holding is occupied by his father's brother, and his father's sister is the wife of another neighbour. His first cousins are the occupiers, or the wives of occupiers, of seven other holdings in the same quarter of the parish, while a farm three miles away is occupied by his mother's first cousin. Thus, William is

related within the second degree to eleven other households in the parish with a total membership of forty-three.<sup>14</sup>

W.M. Williams, a student of Rees, published a similar study in 1956 which dealt with a parish in Cumberland. The methodology was basically that employed by Rees in Wales, but the investigation of kinship in Williams' study showed a more explicit awareness of the connection between kin and the land: "Farmers are known by the name of the family holdings... This identification of a kin-group with a particular holding reflects the high social value placed on land which has been the property of past generations."<sup>15</sup> Williams, in fact, became even more aware of the value of discussing kinship in relation to its spatial expression on the land, in a later study, Ashworthy. This study presents "both a new view of rural life and a new way of investigating it" for British sociology. He writes:

Sociological studies of rural areas in this country and elsewhere have paid far too little attention to analysing in detail the spatial [sic.] relationships of social and economic change... The evidence is in part demographic, in part sociological and in part geographical, considered within a historical continuum.<sup>16</sup>

This is, in effect, the 'obverse of the coin'; it is the sociologist arguing for an awareness of spatial relationships in a manner which is very similar to the situation in which Brookfield, a geographer, argues for social awareness.

More recently, historians have shown an interest in kinship as an important element in social organization. Greven, in introducing his study of four generations in colonial Andover, regards the relationship of family to land as one of the "almost totally neglected aspects of life in an early American community".<sup>17</sup> He sees the family as a

complex social phenomenon, and he is careful to distinguish family from household: "a family can be considered either a household of kindred or a group of kindred who usually, but not always, reside in the same community or in relatively close proximity."<sup>18</sup> For example, in New England, the extended family "consisted most frequently of a kinship network of separate but related households... The principal variable ... is not structure of the household (although it could and did vary) but the structure and extent of the extended kin group residing within the community."<sup>19</sup>

Much of the criticism of the literature on kinship and settlement may also be applied to the study of kinship and migration. Modern studies in migration can be said to have their roots in Ravenstein's seminal paper of 1885;<sup>20</sup> the next significant step towards the achievement of a general theoretical framework within which to regard this highly complex phenomenon was the statement by Lee,<sup>21</sup> in which he took cognizance of the characteristics of process instead of causes and consequences alone. What is needed, in order to procure a solid empirical basis from which more precise theoretical statements may be derived, is a large number of case studies, narrowly conceived and executed. This involves the selection of single components of the migration phenomenon for detailed study. Such topics as changes in rural population over time have been studied in some detail,<sup>22</sup> and migration has been, though all too rarely, tied to such factors as marriage and inheritance patterns.<sup>23</sup> The existence of such case studies

implies that their authors, aware of the importance of migration, feel as yet unable to deal in general terms with the phenomenon as a whole.

It is only when separate aspects of migration are investigated at the micro-level that such considerations as the influence of kinship on the fixity or mobility of rural peoples can be examined. History, sociology and anthropology have contributed most to the evaluation of kinship as a motivating factor in what they usually term "geographical mobility". Greven, for example, notes for Andover:

Kinship often served as an influential factor in bringing additional settlers to Andover ... From the outset there were several embryonic kinship groups settled together.<sup>24</sup>

and Demos postulates kinship ties as a decisive factor in chain migration when one family would move first, and the others follow separately and later.<sup>25</sup> Both suggest that such mobility puts great strain on kinship ties, and Williams agrees that mobility tended to have a weakening effect on kin.<sup>26</sup> This is the conclusion of almost all research on geographical mobility and kinship.

Helgi Osterreich, studying kinship and mobility in Canada notes, however, that

what was significant ... was the emphasis, regardless of geographical mobility, on potential [sic] help ... and on the more intangible feelings of commitment and 'sense of belonging'.<sup>27</sup>

Arensberg and Kimball, in a chapter devoted to "Dispersal and Emigration", have produced evidence of the significant and continuing effects of kinship which have survived despite considerable mobility among members of a kin group:

The bonds of affection and family obligation still hold... There is a marked tendency for emigration from a local region to perpetuate itself.... In one family, there was a succession of nephews and nieces following uncles and aunts from the same farmhouse for four generations.<sup>28</sup>

By concentrating upon one factor (i.e. kinship) in the migration process, such findings support Harvey's assessment of the geographer's position with regard to migration studies:

Studies of migration indicate the complexity of the process, and given this complexity it is hardly surprising that simple models of spatial evolution - such as the moving frontier - can only be highly aggregated accounts of what really happened. Simple and direct migration processes implied in theories of frontier movement, or of achievement of economic equilibrium, just do not exist.<sup>29</sup>

If, as Harvey would seem to suggest, the macro-scale approach is destined to result in simplistic assessments of the phenomenon at this stage of investigation, then the logical alternative would seem to be to regard the problem from the micro-level, slowly building up a picture of important factors which affect migration. The resulting problems of synthesis may well prove less serious than those which beset the 'macro' approach. Indeed, many geographers, examining migrations or rural settlement patterns, are now carrying out studies at the micro-level; Brookfield, in this regard, observes that "when the frame is narrowed and the scale is enlarged ... matters such as ... landholding arrangements and settlement pattern become of major concern."<sup>30</sup>

This present study will consider the distinctive, traditional kinship system of the Highlands of Scotland as a factor in the migration of Highland Scots<sup>31</sup> from Cape Breton into hitherto unsettled areas of southwestern Newfoundland. The subsequent influence of this kinship system upon Highland Scots settlement in Newfoundland, over the first three generations, will also be considered. The essential question is this: to what extent, in the upheaval of the Atlantic migrations, did the traditional kinship network of the Highland Scots survive to serve as a settlement factor?

Since the focus of this study is kinship, it was found necessary to extend the investigation back into Cape Breton, and thence to the source areas in Scotland, in order to document, as accurately as possible, the nature of the kinship networks. This implies a review of what is known of the Scottish clan system, in order to determine the components of this system as it operated in Scotland before the Atlantic migrations of the late Eighteenth to mid-Nineteenth Centuries. The role of kinship in the social composition of the Scots migrating to Cape Breton and thence to Newfoundland is then examined.

The structuring of the investigation meant that a variety of sources, primary and secondary, were utilized. The investigation proceeded retrospectively, both in time and across space, and the acquisition of detailed data became difficult, as the 'frame' was widened and the 'scale' was reduced. Sources of data varied with the scale at which investigation was being carried out. For Newfoundland, four main categories of information were relied upon: parish records, oral evidence, cadastral surveys of the study areas, and general



archival materials. Settlement morphology was examined only in two settlements which initially consisted of sixteen families each; the main study area of Codroy Valley is too extensive for this type of detailed investigation. For Cape Breton, three main categories of information were utilized: oral evidence from Cape Breton and Newfoundland, a collection of genealogies which had been printed in the early 1920's, and other secondary documentary material. For Scotland, only two categories of information were available: oral evidence from Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and secondary documentary material. In other words, in Newfoundland, where field investigation was carried out, data were individual-specific and finely detailed; as investigation moved away from the main study area, only the broad features of the kinship mechanism could be discerned.

It is to be noted that oral evidence has been relied upon heavily throughout the study, and in view of persistent debate regarding its validity, this method requires comment. McCourt,<sup>32</sup> in a recent paper, remarks that

the systematic study of oral tradition recorded from live informants in the field can, if used with circumspection, not merely help to corroborate conventional sources of historical evidence but enhance our knowledge of those aspects of the past barely touched by documentary history.<sup>33</sup>

He goes on to comment that where oral tradition, going back over three or four generations, is used

it is distinguished by having a few links only in the chain of transmission, a fact which reduces the risk of distortion through failure in the folk memory.<sup>34</sup>

He also notes that bias is to be expected

especially where the testimony is coloured by attitudes and prejudices inherent in the culture values of the community to which the informant belongs.<sup>35</sup>

and suggests that this can be offset to a great extent by comparing different accounts, and checking them against any existing documentation.

McCourt's comments are pertinent to the usage of oral evidence in the present study. In broad terms, oral genealogical evidence was found to be accurate back to the fifth generation, when checked against parish records, or against genealogies written in Cape Breton in the early 1900's.. No satisfactory method was devised for the checking of oral genealogical evidence relating back to Scotland, but the detail was not, in any case, required. Clan chauvinism was noted only rarely, and was not such as to produce bias. Generally speaking, oral traditions in Cape Breton and southwestern Newfoundland were found to complement one another. In the one instance where conflict arose, documentary sources were available to allow understanding and correction of the inherent distortions.

Oral genealogies were used in conjunction with parish records. The Parish Register of Searston, southwestern Newfoundland, was used in general accordance with the system devised by Wrigley *et al.*<sup>36</sup> for family reconstitution. While family reconstitution provided the basis from which the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure derived measures of such matters as fertility and mortality, such a focus requires a time span of about one hundred years in order to establish statistical trends. What is fundamental to this study, on the other hand, is the establishment of kinship and marriage links involving a particular group of people. Statistical trends were not required, and

the Searston Parish Register needed only to be used from its inception (about the beginning of the second generation of settlers) until the end of the marriages of the third generation. Even sporadic information (of the type which occurs before the establishment of the Searston Mission, circa 1860) can therefore be used in this study, whereas such information would be useless for the aims and purposes of an historical demographer such as Wrigley. All that is required in the present study is that entries be "sufficiently full to identify the men, women and children who are listed".<sup>37</sup>

In conclusion, this examination of the role of kinship in rural settlement and migration has been carried out at two different levels of investigation. One, the micro-study, has attempted to reconstruct a complete picture of the early kinship networks of the Scots of southwestern Newfoundland, and to relate this to their early settlement process. The other, necessitated by the migration history of the Scots, with its consequent ever-widening frame of reference, was at the macro-level; it takes into consideration the general sweep of the Atlantic migrations and the political and economic upheaval which generated them in Scotland.

The hypothesis which this study will test is that the traditional kinship system of the Highland Scots survived both the Atlantic migration, and the movement subsequently to Cape Breton and Newfoundland.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. A. Demangeon, "The Origins and Causes of Settlement Types," in Readings in Cultural Geography, ed. by P. Wagner and M. Mikesell (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 509.
2. For example, E.E. Evans, 'The Cultural Landscape of Celtic Countries: A Review of Flatres,' "Geographie Rural de Quatre Contrees Celtiques," S.G.M., Vol. 74 (1958), pp. 189-190.  
D. McCourt, "Infield and Outfield in Ireland," Econ. Hist. Rev., 7:3 (1954-5), pp. 369-376.  
H. Uhlig, "Some Remarks on Comparative Research in Settlement Structures," Scottish Studies, Vol. 6 (1962), pp. 181-183.
3. H.C. Brookfield, "Questions on the Human Frontiers of Geography," Econ. Geog., 40:4 (1964), pp. 283-303. A good example of such interdisciplinary cooperation is H.C. Brookfield and P. Brown, Struggle for Land: Agriculture and Group Territories Among the Chimu of the New Guinea Highlands (Melbourne, New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).
4. M. Mikesell, "Geographic Perspectives in Anthropology," A.A.A.G., 57:8 (1967), pp. 617-634.
5. See, for example, the classic studies by E. Scofield, "The Origin of Settlement Patterns in Rural New England," Geog. Rev., Vol. 28, No. 4 (October, 1938), pp. 652-663; and G.T. Trewartha, "Types of Rural Settlement in Colonial America," Geog. Rev., Vol. 36, No. 4 (October, 1946), pp. 568-596.
6. J. Bohland, "The Influence of Kinship Ties on the Settlement Pattern of North East Georgia," Prof. Geog. Vol. 22, No. 5 (September, 1970), pp. 267-269.  
A serious problem is the careless usage of such kinship terminology as "nuclear" family - "The typical pattern in a nuclear family cluster consists of one or more of the sons located near the parents." This is, however, really an extended family location pattern - yet Bohland concludes that "when extended families are part of the settlement unit, the kinship ties are not the motivating factor."
7. Another is the recent paper presented to the Canadian Association of Geographers Session on Historical Geography by A.G. Brunger, "Settler Location in the Talbot Settlement, Upper Canada," May 1973. While he concludes that "Kinship links appear to have exerted a strong influence in settler location", Brunger's assumption that "surnames alone were generally reliable kinship indicators" is unacceptable, as material presented in this present study will demonstrate.

8. A.G. Macpherson, "Land Tenure, Social Structure and Resource Use in the Scottish Highlands, 1747-1784" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, McGill University, 1969).  
... "An Old Highland Genealogy and the Evolution of a Scottish Clan," Scottish Studies, 10, 1966, pp. 1-43.  
... "An Old Highland Parish Register," Part I, Scottish Studies, Vol. 11, 1967, Part II, Scottish Studies, Vol. 12, 1968.
9. H. Fairhurst, "Scottish Clachans," S.G.M., Vol. 76, No. 2 (September, 1960), pp. 67-76.
10. R.A. Gailey, "Settlement and Population in Kintyre, 1750-1800," S.G.M., Vol. 76, No. 2 (September, 1960), pp. 99-107.
11. M.C. Storrie, "Landholdings and Settlement Evolution in West Highland Scotland," Geogr. Annl. 47 Series B, 2 (1965).
12. J.H. Steward, "The Concept and Method of Cultural Ecology," in Theory of Cultural Change (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959), Chapter 2.
13. C.O. Frake, "Cultural Ecology and Ethnography," Amer. Anthropol., 64 (1962), especially p. 54.  
Of social and ecological systems, he says "In both cases the net is woven of cultural threads and the two networks are of course, interwoven at many points."  
J.R. Fox, "Kinship and Land Tenure on Tory Island," Ulster Folklife, 12:1 (1966), pp. 1-17.
14. A.D. Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside (University of Wales Press, 1971), p. 75.
15. W.M. Williams, Gosforth: The Sociology of an English Village (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 77.
16. W.M. Williams, A West Country Village: Ashworthy: Family, Kinship and Land (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. xix-xx.
17. P.J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations. Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 1.
18. Greven, op. cit., p. 15.
19. Greven, op. cit., pp. 15-16.
20. E.G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, XLVIII, 2 (1885), pp. 167-227.

21. E.S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," in Population Geography: A Reader, ed. by G. Demko, H. Rose, and G. Schnell (McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 288-298.
22. See, for example, M. Drake, "Population and Society in Norway, 1735-1865," Lund Studies in Migration, ed. by D. Hannerberg, Series B III, 1951.  
The Lund Studies demonstrate the usefulness of the micro-approach, and they remain among the most important work done on migration in recent years. Hägerstrand, Bylund and Hannerberg turned to detailed local study in an attempt to reach more valid conclusions by the examination of readily-testable examples.
23. O. Brox, "Natural Conditions, Inheritance, and Marriage in a North Norwegian Fjord," Folk, 6 (1964), pp. 35-45.  
J. Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography, ed. by D.V. Glass and D.E. Eversley (London, Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1965), pp. 101-143.
24. Greven, op. cit., pp. 72-3.
25. J. Demos, "Notes on Life in Plymouth Colony," William and Mary Quarterly, XII (1965), pp. 264-286.
26. W.M. Williams, A West Country Village: Ashworthy: Family, Kinship and Land (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 211-212.
27. H. Osterreich, "Geographical Mobility and Kinship: A Canadian Example," in Kinship and Geographical Mobility, ed. by R. Piddington (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), pp. 131-44.
28. C.W. Arensberg and S.T. Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland (Second edition; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 144.
29. D. Harvey, "Models of the Evolution of Spatial Patterns in Human Geography," in Models in Geography, ed. by R.J. Chorley and P. Haggett (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1967), p. 566.
30. H.C. Brookfield, "Questions on the Human Frontiers of Geography," Econ. Geog. 40:4 (1964), p. 293.

31. In this study there has been a persistent problem of nomenclature, which should be explained. The pioneers of the Codroy Valley were, strictly speaking, 'descendants of Cape Breton Highland Scots in Newfoundland', not (with a few exceptions) Scottish born. The terminology, however, was felt to be so unwieldy that in all cases, Scots has been substituted. Similarly, the 'French' of the Codroy Valley are really 'descendants of Acadian French from Cape Breton', but are called French, and likewise for the Irish. The English of the area are not from Cape Breton, but they too have a complex immigration history.
32. D. McCourt, "The Use of Oral Tradition in Irish Historical Geography," Irish Geography, IV:4 (1972), pp. 394-410.
33. Ibid., p. 395.
34. Ibid., p. 396.
35. Ibid.
36. E.A. Wrigley, ed., An Introduction to English Historical Demography, Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Publication No. 1 (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966).
37. Ibid., pp. 102-103.



## CHAPTER II

### 1 ANTECEDENTS AND CONTEXT OF SCOTS SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHWESTERN NEWFOUNDLAND

While Highland Scots emigration to the eastern seaboard of Canada extended from about 1770 to the 1850's, migrations of Highland Scots into southwestern Newfoundland began in 1841<sup>1</sup> and continued until about 1860. Some of these latter immigrants were Scottish born but the vast majority<sup>2</sup> were born on Cape Breton Island, often two or more generations away from their Scottish origins.

It has been found necessary in this chapter and in Chapter III to retrace the footsteps of the Highland Scots settlers of southwestern Newfoundland, back through the source areas in Cape Breton Island to the Scottish source areas, in order to examine the basis upon which kinship operated among the Highland Scots. Thereafter, Scots immigration and settlement around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and later emigration to southwestern Newfoundland are considered.

#### I. The French Shore of Newfoundland

The early settlement of Codroy Valley and St. George's Bay, and the Cape Breton-derived immigration into this area, are best considered against the history of settlement of the "French Shore" of Newfoundland (Figure 2.1). Permanent settlement on the French Shore was generally much later than elsewhere in Newfoundland. This was partly a result of

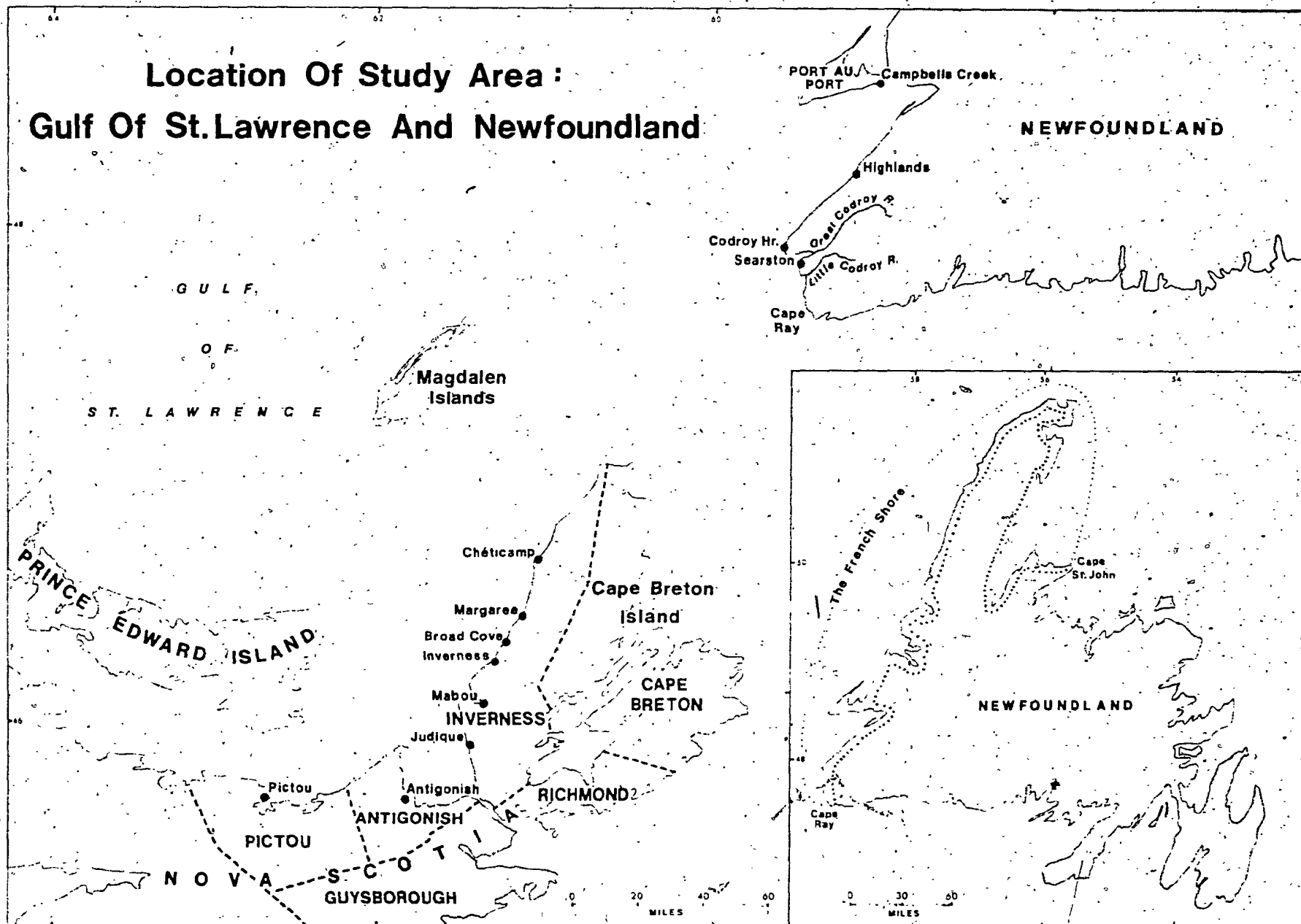


Fig. 2.1

the extensive shore rights given the French by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and the Treaty of Versailles (1783) for the purposes of their fishery. Patrolling of the coast by French and English vessels meant that treaty rights could be enforced with rigour. The English found it difficult to settle there as a result of these treaties, except for a period from 1793 to 1815 when the French were not effective because of the Napoleonic wars. It was during this phase of Newfoundland's history that the first period of English settlement occurred along the French Shore as a whole. "Between 1793 and 1815 when the French were completely excluded from the fishery, a number of British settlers ensconced themselves within the former French limits."<sup>3</sup> In Codroy Valley, however, headstone evidence points to earlier settlement<sup>4</sup> being established even before this time, and Cormack makes reference to a few families living at Codroy in 1822.<sup>5</sup>

After 1825, French power on Newfoundland's west coast declined again, while at the same time an expanding population on the east coast of the Island, and particularly in Conception Bay, was providing a major source of settlers for the area, the Conception Bay settlers frequently moving first to Labrador, and thence down the west coast of the Island.<sup>6</sup> Such settlement, however, was scattered, and usually consisted of isolated families who were not so much involved in a commercial fishery - a potential infringement of French rights - as with subsistence gardening, and the selling of bait to the French, while their main cash income came from seasonal fur-trapping. Cormack comments on the fur-trapping carried on by the inhabitants of Codroy,<sup>7</sup> while local folk, tradition also refers to the first English settlers as trappers.

Moreover, reports to government concerning the area note the exclusive controls of the French over the fishery, and the meagre agriculture practised by the British settlers: "But Codroy Island ... is too valuable a place to give up, and is consequently reserved [by the French] ...".<sup>8</sup> Also: "The land about this place [Codroy] is level and good, and requiring very little labour in the clearing of it for farming purposes, ... yet the inhabitants confine their agricultural labours to the keeping of a few head of cattle."<sup>9</sup> Such families provided no commercial challenge to the French, but proved useful to them, by supplying them with wood and provisions, and acting as caretakers (over the winter months) of fishing premises and gear.<sup>10</sup>

By 1850, however, settlement on the French Shore was beginning to expand, and on 28th February, 1850, Bishop Mullock of St. John's wrote in his diary: "Wrote to Fr. Bélanger, giving faculties to settle in Bay of Islands and work there ...".<sup>11</sup> Fr. Bélanger, however, titled himself "Prêtre missionnaire de la Baie St. Georges"<sup>12</sup> and spent much of his time in Codroy Valley and St. George's Bay, basing himself in Sandy Point and only visiting Bay of Islands from time to time. By 1854, he was making regular visits to the Codroy Valley. Both the latter and St. George's Bay were among the first areas of expansion among the various centres of settlement along the length of the French Shore (Figure 2.1). The period of greatest influx for the Shore as a whole occurred between 1869 and 1874.<sup>13</sup> The major contributing areas (with the exception of Codroy Valley and St. George's Bay) were the south coast and Conception Bay, although there were some settlers from Nova Scotia and New

Brunswick. Most of this settlement was directed towards the fishery or logging.

While the early settlement of Codroy Valley and St. George's Bay was similar to that of the rest of the French Shore, the later settlers who came from Cape Breton Island in the years following 1840<sup>14</sup> were to establish settlement which ran counter to the general pattern for the rest of the Shore.

## II. Source Areas in Cape Breton Island for the Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland.

The detailed history of the immigration of the Cape Breton Islanders into southwestern Newfoundland has yet to be written. Documentary records, as far as is known, date from the 1860's,<sup>15</sup> by which time cores of thriving communities in the Codroy Valley, at Highlands and at Sandy Point were already established (See Table 2.1). Brosnan<sup>16</sup> maintains that the Cape Breton-derived influx was begun by Acadians, who were joined later by Scots and Irish in an immigration period which was to extend through the 1850's, and which would establish settlements from Cape Ray to the south shore of the Port au Port Peninsula. While little idea of total numbers can be obtained for the early years, Kelly's report lists 230 persons - 223 Catholics and 7 Protestants - for Grand Codroy River in 1857, and 109 persons - 75 Catholics and 34 Protestants - for Little Codroy River, in the same year (See Footnote 9).

Figures 2.2 and 2.3 show, in diagrammatic form, the chronology of the migration and its relationship to the process of initial settlement of Codroy Valley. Dates have been obtained from local oral tradition, and checked against cadastral surveys. Location of early

TABLE 2.1

## AVAILABLE POPULATION STATISTICS FOR CODROY VALLEY/BAY ST. GEORGE'S IN EARLY SETTLEMENT YEARS

	1822	1849	1851	1857	
St. George's Bay	?	200 "Resident planters"	(Sandy Pt.)	1200-1400	Cape Ray - Cape St. George's
Codroy (Hr.)	5 families	?	?	192*	Total resident
Grand River	5 families (28 persons) + 10 Indian families	?	?	230*	population
Little River	2 families (17 persons)	?	?	109*	2300 in 1857

\* Figures taken in 1857, issued in 1858.

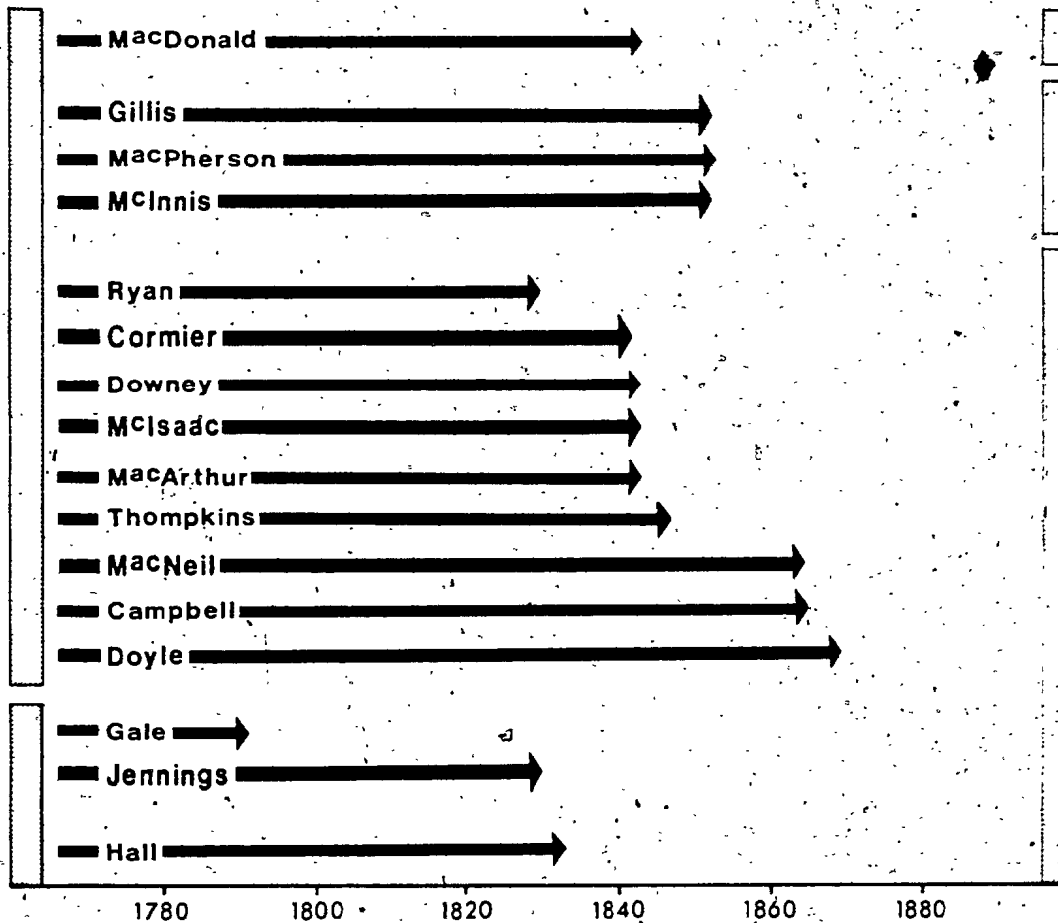
Sources: 1822-Cormack; 1849/51/57/58: Journals of House of Assembly, pp. 422, 145, 301, 436-7.

# Chronology Of The Migration

Cape Breton

England via  
Quebec

England via  
Louisburg



Sandy Point

Highlands

Codroy Valley

Source: Parish Records, Pers. Comm.

Fig. 2.2.

## Grand Codroy River: Early Settlement

Hall 1830	Downey 1848	Jennings 1830 North Bank	Ryan 1840	Gillis c. 1850	Ryan 1840
--------------	----------------	--------------------------------	--------------	-------------------	--------------

◀ Grand Codroy River

South Bank			
MacArthur 1844	MacNeil c. 1850	Cormier 1840	McIsaac 1841

Fig. 2.3



settlement has been established by the use of a late-Nineteenth Century cadastral map of the area said to show details of land allocation in the period 1880-1890 (surveyor's map owned by Mr. John MacNeil of Codroy Valley). It depicts earliest known allocations of land for the Codroy Valley, and covers the pioneer generation and their offspring, for whom sporadic vital data was extracted from the Parish Register of Searston, Codroy Valley, these records being incomplete for the pioneer generation. The chronology of the migration is important insofar as it is related to the spread of initial settlement in Codroy Valley: the North Bank of Grand River, settled earlier, is mainly English and Irish; the South Bank, settled subsequently, is Scottish and French.

It can be said, in fact, that Codroy Valley demonstrates two different settlement processes representing two different ways of utilizing the area. The first (earlier) process has been described above for the French Shore as a whole. The first settlers in Codroy focussed on coastal and estuarine sites for settlement, and had as their main aim occupation of those places which commanded fishing grounds and trapping areas. Agriculture was unimportant. The second (later) process - that of the immigrating Cape Breton French, Irish and Scots - focussed on riverine sites and intervale land rather than on coastal sites, since the prime objective of settlement in this case was agricultural; fishing and trapping were of secondary importance. Agricultural settlement meant that intervale land was at a premium, and the settlement and development of this land continued in the Codroy Valley throughout the Nineteenth Century. Thus, the earliest arrivals from Cape Breton Island occupied the best land. Riverine lots were generally settled first, for purposes of agriculture and because the river was the initial means of

transportation. One or two families, however, settled inland by preference, judging the soil on the ridge between the two rivers to be of good quality.

In order to understand the factors influencing the location of initial settlers more fully, it is necessary to examine the migration from Cape Breton. The immigrants came, with few exceptions, from Inverness County: the latter is on the western shore of Cape Breton Island, facing the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the area of primary Scots Highland settlement - Pictou and Antigonish (in Nova Scotia), and the province of Prince Edward Island. Their ethnic backgrounds are generally identifiable, but the precise numbers in each ethnic group cannot be calculated. Census data for the period are incomplete,<sup>17</sup> and surname data, extracted from the cadastral map, may be misleading.<sup>18</sup>

From the List of Dues, 1882-85, in the Codroy Valley parish register, and from the cadastral map of Highlands taken in conjunction with family genealogies, relative ethnic proportions of the population can be deduced for a time-period of thirty to forty years after the mainstream of immigration<sup>19</sup> (Table 2.2). The second generation in Codroy Valley is composed of 19% Irish (33 households), 22% English (38 households), 19% French (33 households), and 38% Scots (67 households), along with a small group, 2%, consisting of some Micmac Indians and people whose ethnic affiliation cannot be identified. Little River stands out as being almost totally Scots in population, while Grand River is more ethnically mixed. No Protestant settlers were present.

Figure 2.4 shows the source areas in Cape Breton for the southwestern Newfoundland migration of Highland-born and Nova Scotian-born

TABLE 2:2

## ETHNIC COMPONENTS OF CODROY VALLEY AND HIGHLANDS c. 1880

	<u>English</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Scots</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Scots</u>
Codroy Harbour	18	7	4	3	-	34	8.8
Highlands	4	2	-	12	-	18	66.6
N. Bank) Grand	12	13	3	4	1	33	12.1
) Codroy							
S. Bank) River	8	12	25	23	1	69	33.3
Little River	-	1	1	37	-	39	94.8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	42	35	33	79		193	

[% Scots for The Rivers = 38.2 %]

Numbers designate heads of household for all but Highlands,  
where they refer to pioneer males owning land.

## Source Areas In Cape Breton For The Southwestern Newfoundland Migration

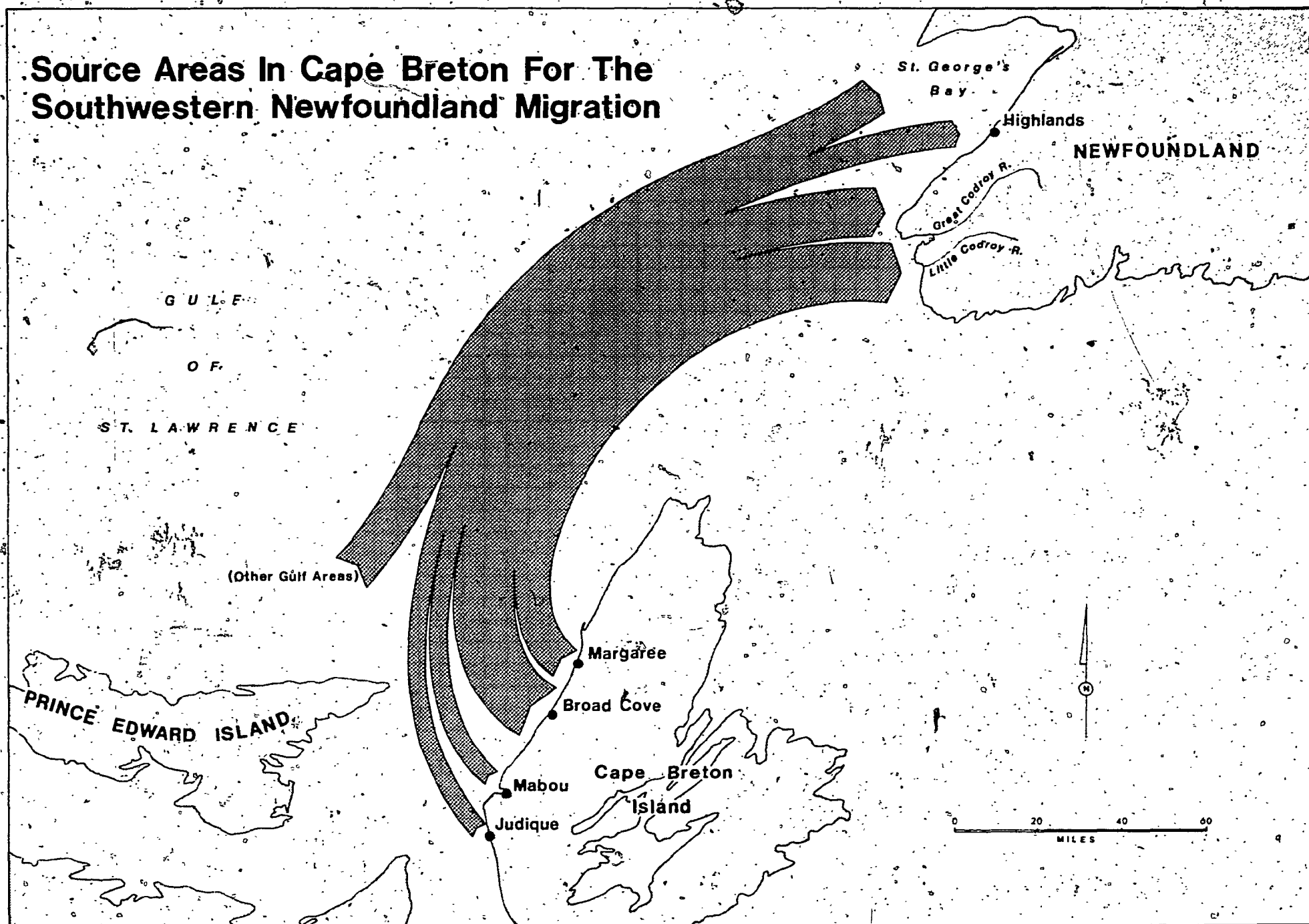
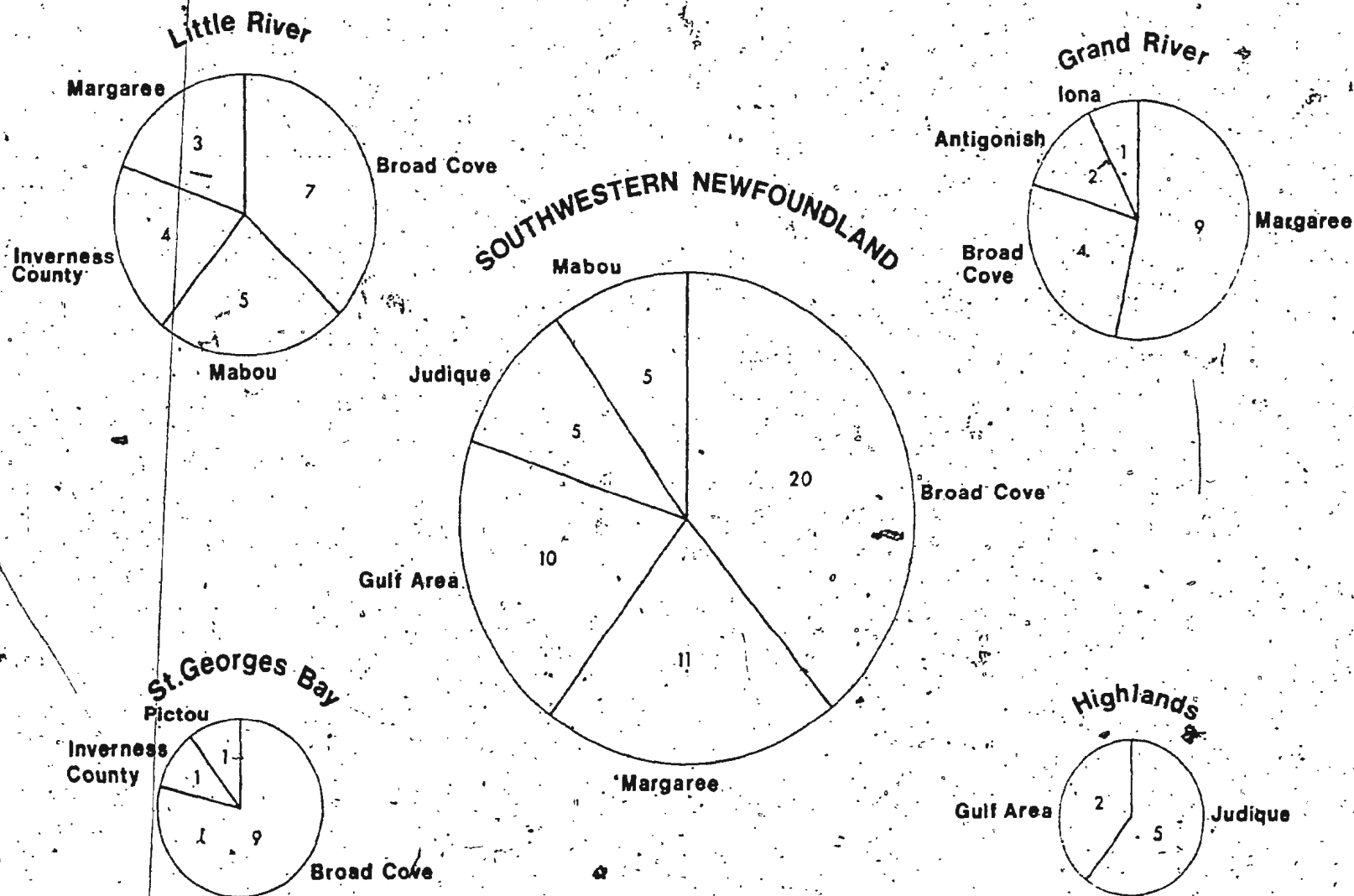


Fig. 2.4

Scots.<sup>20</sup> The data presented are incomplete, but, with a single exception, all Scots surnames shown on the cadastral map have been identified. The pie-graphs of Figure 2.5 represent all moves from Cape Breton to southwestern Newfoundland that can be accurately ascertained. A "move" consists of at least one family; as stated previously some extended families also moved.<sup>21</sup> The data presented in Figure 2.5 are therefore an underestimate of the total of nuclear family moves. Figure 2.4 shows that the majority of moves into the study area came from Margaree and Broad Cove in Cape Breton. It is also evident that Broad Cove was the major source region for immigrants into Little River and St. George's Bay; Margaree was more important as a source area for Grand River. Highlands presents an exception to this pattern, but here the Judique majority can be explained by the fact that part of the earliest settlement there was the result of a shipwreck of Judique Scots,<sup>22</sup> who later attracted others from their home area in Cape Breton to Highlands. Indeed, the two Mabou families of Highlands, one of which was the first family to settle there, left the area after the advent of the Judique Scots and relocated in Codroy Valley and Heatherton, St. George's Bay.

It is apparent, therefore, that the overall settlement pattern of Codroy Valley was influenced by at least three factors - time of settlement ("~~French Shore~~" i.e. coastal, fishing or "~~Cape Breton~~" i.e. riverine, agricultural), source area in Cape Breton, and type of land settled. The restricted nature of the Cape Breton source areas, and the fact that these remained consistent over a twenty-year migration period, suggests that some manner of selection process was operating among the Cape Breton emigrant population. Broad Cove and Margaree,

# Source Areas In Cape Breton For Codroy Valley



Sources: Pers. Comm., Parish Records, MacDugall

Fig. 2.5

Cape Breton, were therefore examined for reasons for the emigration and the selection of Newfoundland as a destination, the nature of the actual migration, and the social composition of the migrant population.

Figure 2.6 consists of a series of pie-graphs showing such information as is available for the early years of Broad Cove, and relating this to the Newfoundland migrants. Figure 2.7 depicts similar information for Margaree.<sup>23</sup> It is apparent from these diagrams that the Highland Scots comprised a significant proportion of the total population of these settlements in the pioneer days: 100% for Broad Cove and 76% for Margaree. Many of the pioneer Scots families had emigrated from Scotland in extended family groups, and came from a complex, traditional kinship network known as "the clan system".

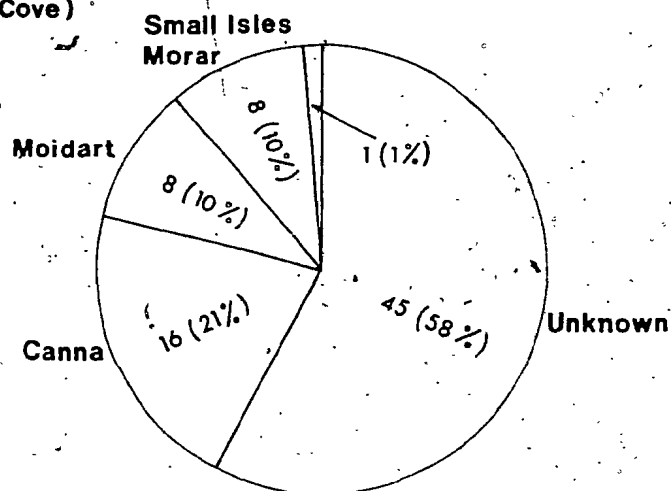
### III. The Clan System in Scotland and in Cape Breton.

The clan system in Scotland was an integral and structurally dominant aspect of the social system, which remained more or less intact and fully functioning until at least 1812<sup>24</sup> in some areas, and probably much later in other more remote areas.

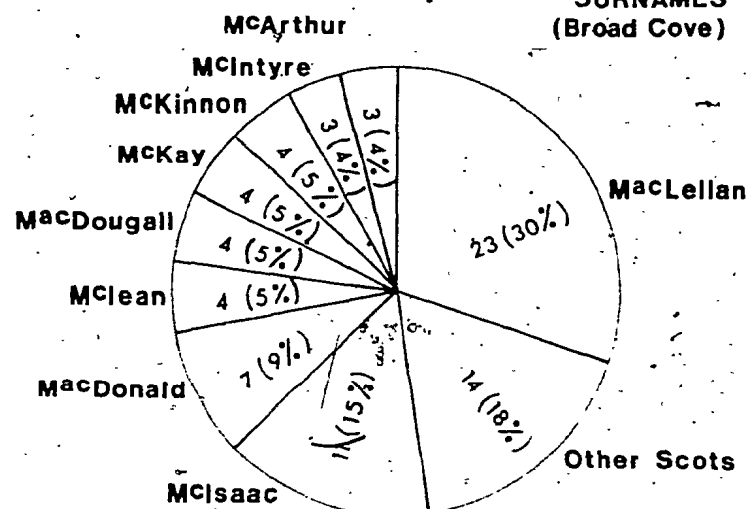
The distinctiveness of Scots Highland society has long been recognised; Fox describes it, generically, in the following terms: "Societies in which descent groups are the basic political, religious, economic and possibly territorial units ... groups of people related to each other through common descent."<sup>25</sup> Fox noted, further, that such societies are alien to present-day urbanized Europeans. Macpherson describes the clan system, as it operated in Badenoch until the Nineteenth Century, in considerable detail.

# Early Broad Cove And The Newfoundland Migration: Source Area

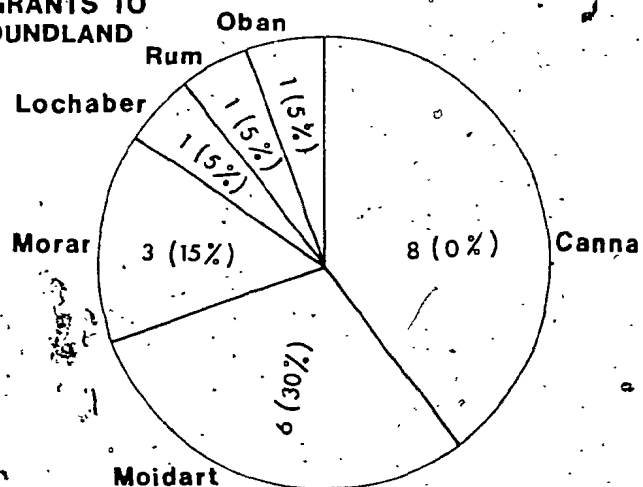
**SCOTTISH SOURCE AREAS  
(Broad Cove)**



**SURNAMES  
(Broad Cove)**



**SCOTTISH SOURCE AREA  
OF MIGRANTS TO  
NEWFOUNDLAND**



**SURNAMES OF MIGRANTS  
TO NEWFOUNDLAND**

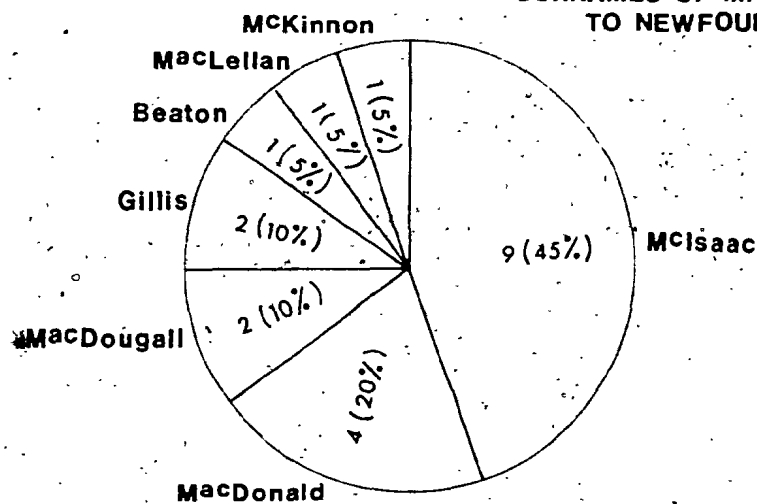
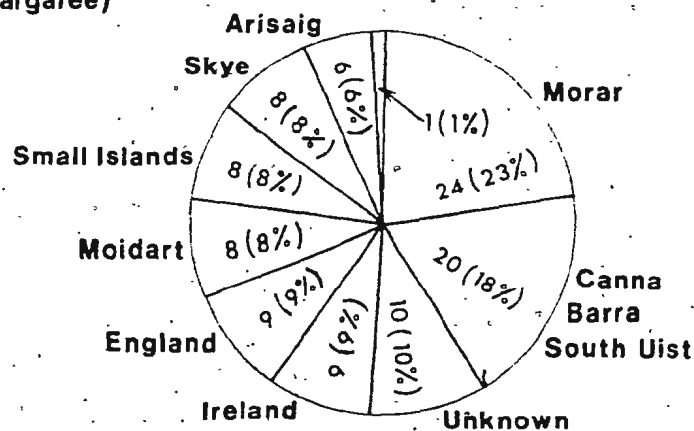


Fig. 2.6

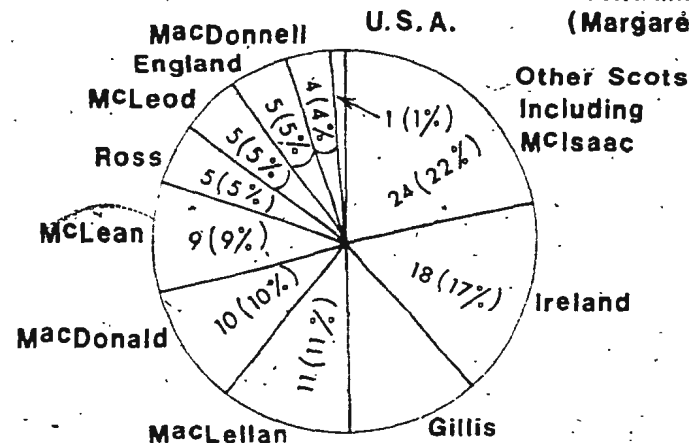


# Early Margaree And The Newfoundland Migration: Source Areas

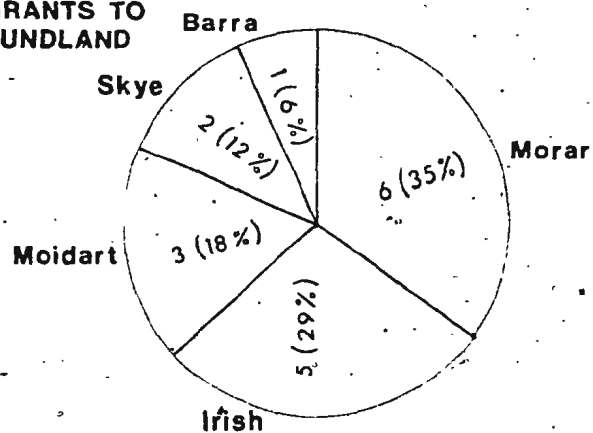
SCOTTISH SOURCE AREAS  
(Margaree)



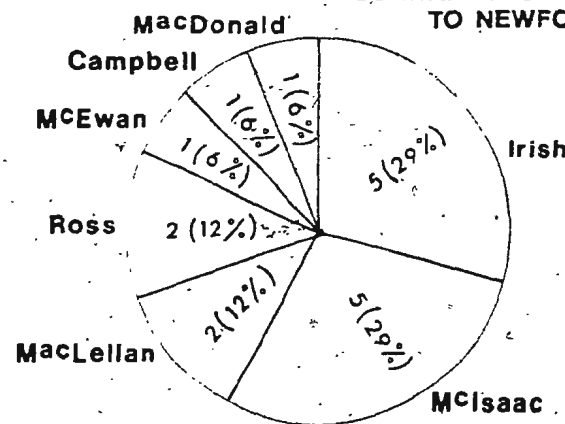
SURNAMES  
(Margaree)



SCOTTISH SOURCE AREA  
OF MIGRANTS TO  
NEWFOUNDLAND



SURNAMES OF MIGRANTS  
TO NEWFOUNDLAND



Sources : Pers. Comm. and M<sup>rs</sup> Dougal

Fig. 2.7

A clan ... is really an extended family, broadly based in the present in a great multitude of cousins, tapering to a few dimly-seen ancestors some generations back ... Scottish clans were territorially based ...<sup>26</sup>

The Scottish clan can be viewed in three separate ways, which are not necessarily hierarchical. Firstly, the clan can be taken to denote all patrilineal descendants of a common and remote ancestor. Thus, the Clan MacNeil comprises all descendants, in successive generations, of the eponymous Neil, who may or may not be an historically known person. This can be regarded as referring to all patrilineal descendants of Neil through time, or to all living members of this group. As used for all living descendants of Neil, the Clan MacNeil would be a political unit with a territorial identification base.

Secondly, and operative within the larger clan described above, there was the sliochd which, literally translated, means "lineage". Every individual had his own sliochd or patrilineal ancestry, usually referring back over several generations, and therefore similar to a "branch" of a family tree.<sup>27</sup> Thus, in the Clan Macpherson, the Sliochd Choinnich was that branch of the Clan which had Kenneth as a common ancestor (maximal lineage), while Kenneth in turn could be traced back to the progenitor of the Clan as a whole. The sliochd was a large unit operating within the major political unit clan.

The word 'sliochd' could be used almost synonymously with the third term used to describe the structure of the Scottish clan - the clann (meaning 'children').<sup>28</sup> The clann was a local group of the sliochd, and it was this localised clann that was transferred from Scotland to Cape Breton. The larger units of clan and sliochd remained Scottish-based,

and Cape Breton genealogists refer local clanns back to their Scottish-based Sliochd and clan; thus MacDougall says of John MacDonald (Lord) that "he was of the Slioch-an-Taighe branch of the Keppoch MacDonalds". Certainly this specific terminology is found in Cape Breton; thus in Broad Cove, for example, there was a family descended from five brothers (McLellans) who were locally (i.e. in Broad Cove) identified as Cloinn Fhearchair.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, it is necessary also to point out that each clansman carried his own personal patronymic, which indicated his own personal lineage. This was true both in Scotland and in Cape Breton. Thus Domhuill mac Aoghna's ic Neil ic Eoghain (Donald son of Angus son of Neil son of Ewan) of South West Margaree, Cape Breton was referred to by his father, grandfather and great grandfather.<sup>30</sup> The system of patronymics could be extended even farther back in time if the practicalities of the situation required it.

The critical factor in achieving an understanding of the clan system in Scotland is the recognition that it developed as a means of identification from within: it enabled the clansman to locate and identify himself within his kin (or so to locate and identify others) at different levels of familiarity. Macpherson<sup>31</sup> illustrates these varying levels of identification, noting that to a stranger the clansman might be identified as 'of the Clan Macpherson', while to another, but unknown, Macpherson, he would be 'of the Sliochd Choinnich'; equally he could be, at an even closer level of familiarity, 'of the Clann mhic Dhomnaill mhic Neill' (i.e. in the 18th century, a Macpherson of Rothiemurches), or, to those who knew him well, he would be described by

his personal patronymic - 'son of John, son of Donald'. All of these forms of identification served to relate him, not only to a lineage, but also to a territory; kinship and land tenure in the Highlands of Scotland were inextricably interwoven. At the level of the larger clan, this can be demonstrated by the fact that hereditary rights to land acquired by individuals "accrued in a general sense to the clan to which each belonged and in a more particular sense to the sliochd or lineage descended from him."<sup>32</sup> Further, "The agnatic structure of Highland society operated as a basis for landholding till the end of the Eighteenth Century, and to a diminishing extent through the first and second quarters of the Nineteenth Century."<sup>33</sup> Until this period - during which the Atlantic migrations occurred - the clan system operated to maintain a complex and finely-balanced society, depending for its continued existence on traditional methods of shared tenure or possession of land, practised within a kinship structure.

#### IV Emigrations to Cape Breton Island and their Scottish Source Areas.

One of the main questions in this Chapter is whether or not the Scots transferred elements of their kinship system across the Atlantic to North America. Two separate and distinct migrations of Scots have been identified by Adam<sup>34</sup>: that of 1770 to 1775, which was brought to a close by the American War of Independence, and that of 1786 to 1803. Cameron proposes an additional period for Upper Canada which he dates from 1805 to 1855,<sup>35</sup> and Martell<sup>36</sup> and Flewelling<sup>37</sup> have established these dates for Nova Scotia. While the dates for the initial emigration to North America (1770 to 1775) do not coincide with dates of initial

settlement in Broad Cove and Margaree (1800 to 1830's), many settlers demonstrated considerable mobility prior to locating in Cape Breton; consequently this initial period of emigration cannot be ignored, since it is likely that some Broad Cove and Margaree settlers crossed the Atlantic in the Eighteenth Century.

The total number of persons involved in the emigration of 1770 to 1775 must remain conjectural, since many emigrant ships are known to have departed unrecorded from remote Scottish sea-lochs. Adam calculates that roughly 10,000 left Scotland in this period, a figure below other estimates.<sup>38</sup> She maintains that this first emigration was led by tacksmen,<sup>39</sup> and suggests that the latter were motivated by loss of social and financial status, which would result from the obsolescence of military service after 1745. The explanation, however, is simplistic. Most tacksmen were not obliged by law to give such military service: in fact it was against the law. Most conversions of rent, from payment by service to payment by cash, were asked for by tacksmen, if these conversions had not already been made. Most probably, the motivation for the tacksman migration was the erosion of their commanding place in Highland society, this forced obsolescence being due to liberalisation of that society. Rather than tolerate this, many emigrated, some taking their sub-tenants and kinsfolk with them in an attempt to re-establish the old order in the New World.

The second emigration (1783 to 1803) and its extension to 1855, is the one which included the bulk of the Broad Cove and Margaree immigrants. This emigration differed from the 'tacksman' migration, in that it was an exodus of poor people, of lower social status.<sup>40</sup> Adam

estimates the number of emigrants between 1782 and 1803 at more than 12,000, noting that "between 1801 and 1803, twenty-three ships left for America with Highland emigrants, carrying altogether 5,391 persons on board. Of these vessels, all but one sailed from Highland or Island ports."<sup>41</sup> Martell calculates that 43,000 emigrants left for Nova Scotia between 1815 and 1838; and Flewelling, in her companion study, accounts for an additional 16,000 between 1839 and 1851, 14,000 of these being Gaelic-speaking Highlanders who "flocked to Cape Breton", and the remainder being English and victims of the Irish Famine. All writers comment on the vagueness of contemporary accounts with regard to actual numbers of Scots immigrants. Flewelling states that

If they were landed in Halifax, Pictou or Sydney, their arrival was usually recorded by customs officials or in the newspapers; if, however, they were set down in a lonely harbour or on uninhabited shores ... no one knew how many began their struggle with the wilderness alone, or in pioneer settlements where their arrival was unrecorded.<sup>42</sup>

The reasons for the emigration from Scotland of 1703 to 1855 warrant careful consideration, for they cannot help but have influenced the behaviour of the immigrants in the New World. Adam lists four main reasons for the emigration: periodic famine, rack-renting, farm union, and displacement of cattle and tillage by sheep. She notes the popular view that the "emigration was chiefly the result of the creation of sheep runs, that the introduction of sheep was due solely to the greed of the landowner, and his callous indifference to the interests of his original tenants; that the landlord, therefore, is to be held primarily responsible."<sup>43</sup> Against this, she notes the lack of late-Eighteenth Century emigrants from Argyllshire as opposed to the Hebrides, and the

fact that Argyllshire had much more sheep-farming than the Hebrides; she argues that displacement of population need not have resulted in emigration, as in many cases alternatives were offered, but refused. She concludes that population pressure, unrelieved by any natural check, was the ultimate cause of the emigration.

Adam has long been regarded as a principal authority on Highland emigration, and her conclusions are generally accepted by writers on Scots emigration to Eastern Canada. However, it is perhaps significant that, at least among the Cape Breton and Newfoundland informants interviewed by the present writer, the 'popular view' which Adam seeks to refute, was borne out by folk memory. The following four case-histories are offered in support of the 'popular view' and in contrast to Adam's conclusions. Evidence regarding emigration is drawn from South Uist, Barra, the Small Isles, Moidart and Morar, which were Scottish source areas for the pioneer settlers of Broad Cove and Margaree, Cape Breton.

The Reverend Donald Maclean, Minister of the Parish of the Small Isles, informed the compilers of the "New Statistical Account for Scotland" that:

in 1826 all the inhabitants of the Island of Rùm, amounting to at least 400 souls, found it necessary to leave their native land, and to seek for new abodes in the distant wilds of our colonies in America. Of all the old residents, only one family remained upon the Island... A similar<sup>44</sup> emigration took place in 1823, from the Island of Muck.

Hugh Miller, an eminent Scots geologist who visited Rùm shortly after the evictions, commented of them: "... the Island lost all its original inhabitants on a wool and mutton speculation." Concerning Arisaig and Moidart, the following evidence was given before the Deer Forest

Commission of 1892, by an evicting agent:

I am able to speak ... in connection with ... an emigration from the estate of Loch Sheil in Moidart. These people occupied Rhu [Rhu-Arisaig] as cottars" ... They paid rent for grazing, - a small nominal sum, and he (MacDonald of Rhuda) himself, paid a very small rent to the then proprietor, MacDonald of Clanranald ... It so came to pass that he (MacDonald of Rhuda, to whom rent was paid by the cottars) had to give a large increase of rent, or be quit of it ... The consequence was that the farm was taken over him; and the cruel thing was that he was obliged to remove all sub-tenants upon it who had been there three generations before him or his ancestors. "The only thing he could do was to get his brother MacDonald of Loch Sheil to take the people over to Loch Sheil in Moidart ... The addition of so many people from Rhuda, Arisaig, quite overwhelmed them when the potato famine occurred ... The date of this is 1794 ... We could see nothing for it but to assist them to emigrate.<sup>45</sup>

A list of Rhu-Arisaig surnames is included in this account, many of which are to be found today in Codroy Valley, Newfoundland, and in Broad Cove/Margaree, Cape Breton.

Documentation of emigration from Barra and South Uist also suggests eviction as a prime motivation for the exodus from the Hebrides. Of South Uist in 1770, there is, further, evidence of religious persecution. MacDonald of Boisdale launched, in 1770, a persecution against the Catholic people of Uist. He offered to leave them in possession of their lands, on condition that they brought their children up as Protestants. He then proceeded to carry out threats of wholesale evictions. "Bishop Hay, the Vicar Apostolic, put a memorial setting forth the case of the poor Uist people, and raising subscriptions to meet the cost of transporting them to America in 1772."<sup>46</sup>

'The Book of Barra' also talks of an emigration from Barra of upwards of 200 persons, going to the Island of Saint John (Prince Edward Island) and Nova Scotia, "inveigled thither ... with promises of the



undisturbed profession of their religion, being all Roman Catholic, and of free property for themselves and their offspring for ever".<sup>47</sup>

Roderick MacNeil of Barra, the second last chief, writing in 1816 to a Roman Catholic priest, the Reverend Angus MacDonald, evinced much concern over the dishonest dealings of emigration agents. His attitude was the traditional one of a clan leader, before the clan system disintegrated:

Reports have of late come to me of a spirit of emigration from your parish ... It is no doubt disturbing to my feelings that the people to whom I am so much attached should leave me, but if it was for their good, I should regret less ... Were it agreeable, I would with pleasure do all that were possible to save the small means of those people and so let their situation be better when they get to America ... I am not quite decided as to going home this season, but if I can be of use to these people, whether my business requires it or not, I will not hesitate to go.

This letter is in contrast to that written from London nine years later in 1825, by his son Colonel Roderick MacNeil, last chief of Barra, to Fr. MacDonald:

Say to those who are about to emigrate that I sincerely wish them well through it, and assure those who have signed and repented, that their repentance comes too late. So help me God, they shall go; at all events off my property - man, woman and child.

And, in his next letter, he added:


I shall now look to my interests without any further regard to obsolete prejudices [i.e. the duty of a chieftain to his people] ... you will do well to advise your friends ... to mind well what they were about if they wish to remain at Barra. They are of little or no importance to me.<sup>48</sup>

Colonel MacNeil, despite these and similar efforts to avoid bankruptcy, finally sold his estate to Colonel Gordon of Cluny, after which sale even more brutal evictions followed.<sup>49</sup>

The above examples suggest that, at least for those source areas in Scotland which are the concern of this study, population pressure was not the sole, much less the ultimate, motivation for emigration. However, with respect to early emigration from Barra, Adam's contention would seem to apply. Dr. Webster's Report on Barra, dated 1755, notes that in the previous twenty years the Island had passed from a situation where some land was as yet unoccupied, to one where subdivision was occurring with increasing frequency.<sup>50</sup> It seems likely that there exists here the roots of a situation which would finally bear fruit in the early emigrations such as Roderick MacNeil deplored. The Moidart example quoted above gives indication of the effects of rack-renting and eviction in 1794, followed by resettlement and later potato famine in 1840 to 1850 in now congested areas which, taken in conjunction, were to result in enforced emigration in the 1840's to 1850's. However, the religious persecution in Boisdale, and the evictions of the last MacNeil and his successor, Gordon of Cluny, are of a different nature.

The New World appealed to the emigrants as a place where land was plentiful, could be acquired readily, and could be owned by themselves, in their own right. Familiarity with America had grown, as disbanded Highland regiments had settled there, as had the small tenants of the 1770 to 1775 'tacksman' emigration. Letters drew kin to kin, and Scottish districts would appear to have had North American counterparts. Moreover, Scots Loyalist refugees of the American War of Independence had fled to Nova Scotia, and in initiating settlement had thereby prepared the area to receive a new wave of immigrants. What

Adam calls the "clannish instinct" was operating to create routes along which new immigrants could travel with relative confidence.



## NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. An exhaustive examination of the oral evidence has produced full agreement among all informants on this date.
2. Parish records and oral genealogical evidence.
3. F.F. Thompson, The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland, Canadian Studies in History and Government, No. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 22.
4. J. Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery. Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 2 (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), p. 28, Footnote 7.  
"A few remaining gravestones in fact mark at least two ... as living in the Valley 1767". This, of course, may only reflect seasonal occupancy.
5. W.E. Cormack, Narrative of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland in 1822 (London, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1928), pp. 90-102.  
Cormack records five families at Codroy, five families along the Great Codroy River and two families (17 persons) along the Little Codroy River. He gives no further details.
6. Some of the information on initial settlement of the west coast comes from student reports in field courses, in the summers of 1970, 1971 and 1972. Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Unpublished.
7. Cormack, op. cit., p. 96.
8. Journals: House of Assembly: 1857, Report on the Fisheries, Appendix, p. 331.
9. Journals: House of Assembly: 1857, Report of M.J. Kelly, Appendix, p. 436.
10. Thompson, op. cit., p. 23.  
"British subjects were encouraged on the Shore only when French property required a winter caretaker (1829)". Such processes of settlement were ubiquitous along the French Shore.

11. Very Rev. M. Brosnan, Pioneer History of St. George's Diocese, Newfoundland (Toronto: Mission Press, 1948), p. 9.
12. Record of Births, Marriages and Deaths, Volume 1. Mss. in the Parish of St. George's, Newfoundland. That is, "missionary priest of St. George's Bay."
13. Mr. Staveley, Pers. comm. June 19th, 1973. He calculates a 12.1% average annual population increase for this time.
14. Brosnan, op. cit., p. 13.  
He dates the first arrivals to 1844, and notes that Highland Scots surnames were common in the Codroy Valley by 1854. Oral tradition dates the earliest Scot to 1841.
15. These are the Roman Catholic Parish Registers for the Parish of St. George's and the Searston Mission.
16. Brosnan, op. cit., p. 13.  
This is the only known written source for the earliest years of the immigration. Oral tradition in Codroy Valley, Highlands and Port au Port confirms the general outline.
17. Arrivals from Cape Breton are listed as "British Colonial", no ethnic discrimination being made.
18. Some of the Scots, at least, are known to have come in extended family groups, and a count of different surnames, therefore, does not necessarily indicate the correct number of original nuclear families in the area. The figures are: 15 French, 13 Scots, and 9 Irish surnames.
19. The 1882-85 Dues are the first which can reasonably be assumed to be complete, since earlier lists show an extreme variation in numbers when compared with the records proper. These dues list heads of household, as does Highlands' cadastral survey, which (when used with genealogies) provides comparable statistics to the List of Dues of the Searston Register.
20. Owing to the fragmented nature of the sources, precise evidence is scarce for Cape Breton at the time of the migration to Newfoundland. Parish registers provide few specific source areas ("Cape Breton" is a standard 'place of birth' entry). The main documentary source is MacDougall's "History of Inverness County", an extensive collection of genealogies of pioneer Scots families and their Cape Breton descendants.

21. See J.P. Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 15. He defines an 'extended family' as one which includes within it kindred other than husband, wife and their own children i.e. the conjugal or nuclear family. Such extended families could consist of a network of separate but related households or could consist of one household.
22. Pers. comm: Mr. Charles Macpherson, Mrs. Catherine Hall (née Gillis), whose ancestors were survivors of this shipwreck.
23. Sources for Figures 2.6 and 2.7 are genealogies drawn from oral tradition in the Codroy Valley, along with two printed collections of Scots genealogies for Cape Breton and Nova Scotia (see Bibliography).
24. A.G. Macpherson, "An Old Highland Parish Register," I and II: Scottish Studies, 11, 12. 1967 and 1968.
25. R. Fox, Kinship and Marriage (Penguin Anthropology Library, 1967), p. 52.
26. A.G. Macpherson, "An Old Highland Genealogy and the Evolution of a Scottish Clan," Scottish Studies, 10: (1966), p. 1 ff.
27. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 2. Highlanders, he notes, did not usually think of their ancestry as a family "tree" but rather as the "track of a wheel or the imprint of fingers in the dust."
28. Ibid., p. 1. Macpherson uses this spelling to differentiate between this and the larger 'clan'.
29. J.L. MacDougall, History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia (Truro: News Pub. Co. Ltd., 1922), p. 369.
30. The system is the exact equivalent of Scotland where, for example, Muireach MacIain Dubh, mhic Dhomnaill [Murdoch son of John Dubh (= black-haired) son of Donald] was referred to by his father and grandfather. cf. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 2.
31. Ibid., pp. 1-2.
32. A.G. Macpherson, "An Old Highland Parish Register," Scottish Studies, Part I, v. 11 (1967), p. 188.
33. A.G. Macpherson, "An Old Highland Parish Register," Scottish Studies, Part II, Vol. 12 (1968), p. 108.

34. M.I. Adam, "The Causes of the Highland Migrations of 1783-1803," Scott. Hist. Rev., Vol. 17, No. 66 (January, 1920), p. 73.  
Also, "The Highland Emigration of 1770," Scott. Hist. Rev., Vol. 16, No. 65 (September, 1919).
35. J.M. Cameron, "A Study of the Factors that Assisted and Directed Scottish Emigration to Upper Canada 1815-1855" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1970).
36. D.S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia, 1815-1838, Mss. in Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
37. R.J. Flewwelling, Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1839-1851, Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, Volume 28 (1949), p. 75.
38. M.I. Adam, op. cit., Scot. Hist. Rev., XVI, No. 64 (1919), p. 280.
39. Tacksmen were the primus inter pares or leading men of the small local clann groups, or the living representatives of the first men to establish right of ancient possession (dùthchas) in the farm by which they were known familiarly. In some cases chiefs were tacksmen themselves, and in many cases tacks were obtained, not from clan chiefs, but from other landlords who were often superior barons of the realm, and not of the same family or clan as the tacksmen. Pers. comm. with Dr. A.G. Macpherson, May 1973.
40. It is, however, possible that these 'poor people' included obscure families who were originally of 'tacksmen' families.
41. M.I. Adam, op. cit., Scot. Hist. Rev. XVII, No. 66 (1920), p. 74.
42. R.J. Flewwelling, op. cit., p. 75.
43. M.I. Adam, op. cit., p. 80.
44. Quoted in A. Mackenzie, The Highland Clearances (2nd. ed. revised; Glasgow: A. MacLaren, no date), pp. 222-226.  
J.L. MacDougall, op. cit., pp. 126-131, cites in full a ship's list of 1828, naming 208 Rum emigrants, i.e. half the population of the Island. They landed at Ship Harbour (Port Hawkesbury), Cape Breton.
45. A. Mackenzie, op. cit., pp. 271-273.
46. J.L. Campbell, ed., The Book of Barra (London: Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1936), pp. 23-24.
47. Ibid., pp. 73-74.
48. Ibid., pp. 156-188. The MacNeil Letters.

49. Ibid., pp. 221-226 for examples of these.

50. Ibid., pp. 73-74.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE TRANS-ATLANTIC AND GULF MIGRATIONS

Many writers on the Scots in Canada hint at some kind of social ordering of the immigrant population, but in no case do they appear to realise fully the effects of Scots kinship, and the locational ordering that might result from this.<sup>1</sup> The main source areas in Scotland for the Broad Cove, Margaree and southwestern Newfoundland immigrants were Moidart, Morar and the Isle of Canna, together comprising a small district on the West Coast of Scotland. Figure 3.1 shows the Scots source areas for the southwestern Newfoundland migrations, including immigrants who did not arrive via Broad Cove and Margaree, but either came direct from Scotland or via other source areas in Cape Breton or around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Thus, marginal source areas such as Arisaig, South Uist, Barra, Skye and Lochaber are shown on the map. All immigrants came from that territory in Scotland which was formerly under the domination of Clan Donald (Figure 3.2), and Canna, Moidart and Morar are within the territory of a major sliochd - the Clanranald branch of Clan Donald. These major source areas in Scotland are a part of Clanranald territory, as are those marginal areas such as Barra and Skye, having, in Scotland, kin links to the Clanranald family, developed through marriage. Some details of the kin and territorial associations of the Clanranald family are outlined in Appendix One. Despite the antiquity of some of these references, kinship links established at these times remained valid in the post-migration settlements of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.

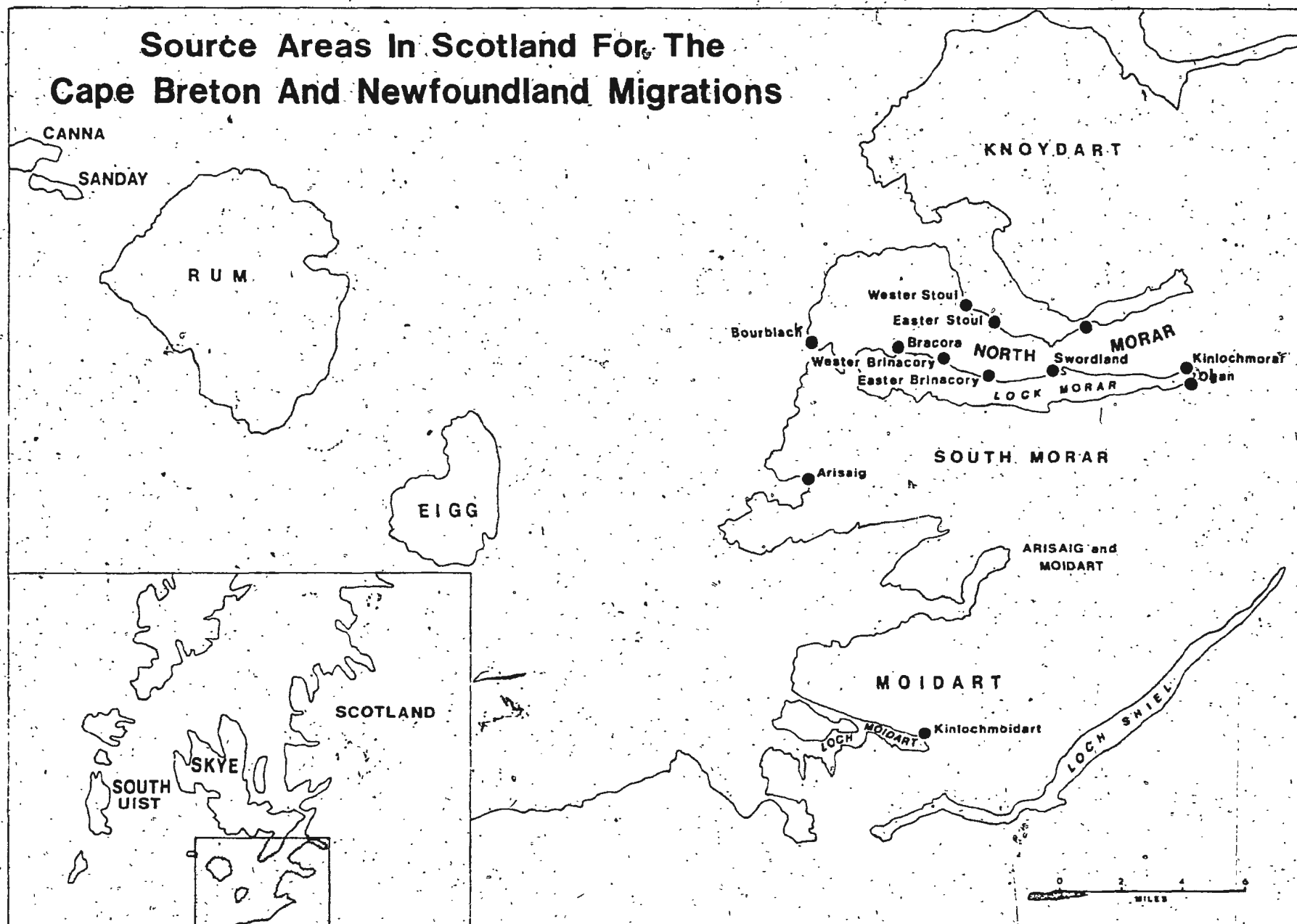


Fig. 3.1

# Clan Donald Territory In Scotland

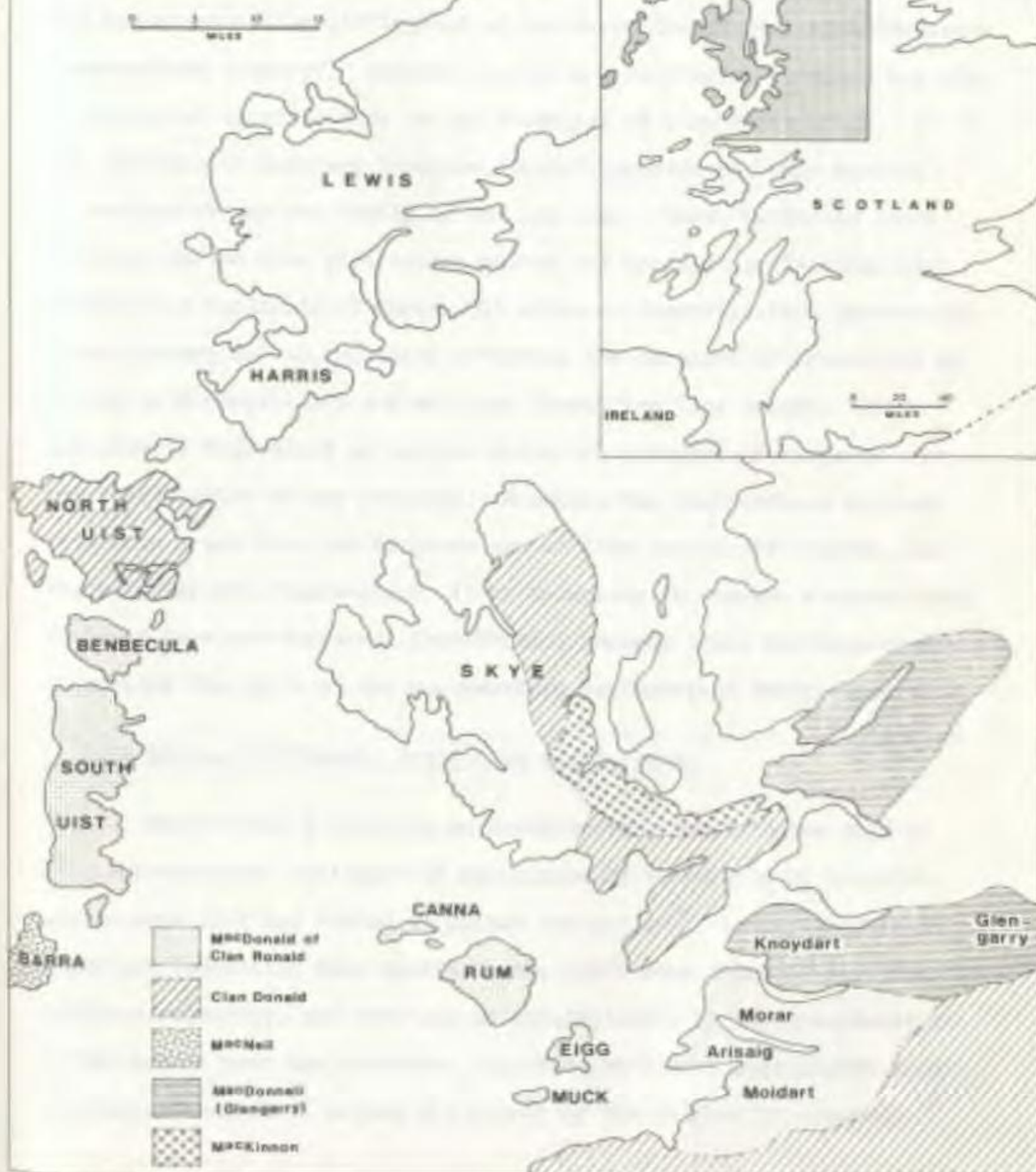


Fig. 3.2

Evidence of surname association serves to further underline the homogeneous clan affiliation of the Broad Cove/Margaree/southwestern Newfoundland migrants. However, not only a particular surname, but also a particular location aids in the diagnosis of clan affiliation. It is the evidence of name and location, jointly considered, that permits allocation of any one family to any one clan. Thus, 'MacDonald' alone will not define clan affiliation beyond the broad classification 'Clan Donald', but 'MacDonald of Morar' will allow of identification specifically with Clanranald.<sup>2</sup> Using these criteria, the surnames of Broad Cove as listed in McDougall and the National Census for Cape Breton, 1861, are clearly Clanranald in origin, while the surnames of Margaree are not attributable to any one clan. However, the Newfoundland migrants from both Broad Cove and Margaree are of Clan Donald affiliation, and the majority are Clanranald.<sup>3</sup> It is necessary to examine kinship links in Broad Cove and Margaree, Cape Breton, amongst those settlers who were to provide the basis of the southwestern Newfoundland immigration.

#### I. Cape Breton Settlement: Broad Cove and Margaree

Much of the literature on Scots immigration into the Gulf of St. Lawrence notes instances of relocation of immigrants by Scottish source area, but has failed to pursue the matter.<sup>4</sup> Initial Highland Scots settlements in Nova Scotia in the 1780s were those of disbanded Highland regiments, and were placed strategically by the government as buffer points near the frontier. By 1841 there were over 85,000 Scots and Scots descendants around the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.<sup>5</sup>

In 1784, Cape Breton - hitherto held as a naval base - became a separate colony, and the granting of land began. Of the influx of Scots into Cape Breton, MacDonald says:

Many of the Highlanders came to join relatives and friends who fought under Wolfe at the second siege of Louisburg and remain in the Island upon demobilization ... the [major] settlement of the Island began about 1791 with the arrival of two shiploads from the Hebrides, who were persuaded ... to leave Pictou and settle along the Gulf shore towards Antigonish.<sup>6</sup>

McDougall also cites 1791 as being the date of arrival in Pictou,<sup>7</sup> but there is some evidence that it may have been earlier. - The Parish Register of St. George's, Newfoundland contains the following note attached to a death entry:

Born in the Isle of Eigg in Scotland on May 15, 1785. Emigrated to Nova Scotia with his parents the following year; landed in Pictou with other families. Several went to Cape Dory in Cumberland County. Others to Antigonish and other places East.<sup>8</sup>

From the Gulf shore, many settlers moved onto the west coast of Cape Breton Island, occupying the lands around the Gut of Canso and Judique and slowly spreading northwards towards Margaree.<sup>9</sup> MacDonald comments of this spread of settlement that, like other Scots settlers in the Gulf, "they sent home such favourable accounts of the country that many of their friends and relatives were persuaded to join them ...". Likewise, McDougall's genealogies contain comments such as "another brother ... who had been on a farm at Rear Broad Cove Marsh since 1811, coaxed these three brothers to come out."<sup>10</sup> By 1820, all waterfront lands were taken up and later settlers had to occupy rear (upland) lots.<sup>11</sup>

By 1836, the population of Cape Breton was about 30,000. The immigration into southwestern Newfoundland was therefore merely an

extension of a much greater movement of Highland Scots onto the eastern seaboard of Canada<sup>12</sup> (see Figure 3.3), one of the most striking features of which was the apparent mobility of pioneer Highlanders after initial settlement. Figure 3.3 illustrates this mobility, showing movements from the eastern Gulf of St. Lawrence onto the west coast of Cape Breton. The map was constructed mainly from information extracted from MacDougall<sup>13</sup> where he refers to movement from other parts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence into Inverness County.

Another - and possibly related - feature of the pioneer settlement of Inverness County is the large number of people from localised Scots source areas who settled together in localised areas of Inverness County, on occasions even after the initial migration process had scattered them over the Gulf area (Figure 3.4). In the area of Cape Breton which received the bulk of those Scots later migrating to southwestern Newfoundland, location by Scottish source area is marked, and in some instances considerable mobility was demonstrated by families who had initially settled elsewhere. Figure 3.5 illustrates one example<sup>14</sup> of this relocation by Scots source area. It has been noted above that the earliest settlers of Cape Breton are said to have arrived in Pictou about the year 1791, and some are known to have gone to Parrsboro, in Cumberland County. MacDougall<sup>15</sup> records further moves of two brothers and their families from Parrsboro to Broad Cove Marsh, settling near a family, from the same Scottish source area and same immigration, who resided at Broad Cove Chapel. Oral evidence tells of two more identical moves from Parrsboro to the vicinity of Broad Cove. In the following generation, intermarriage took place between these families, and branches of two of

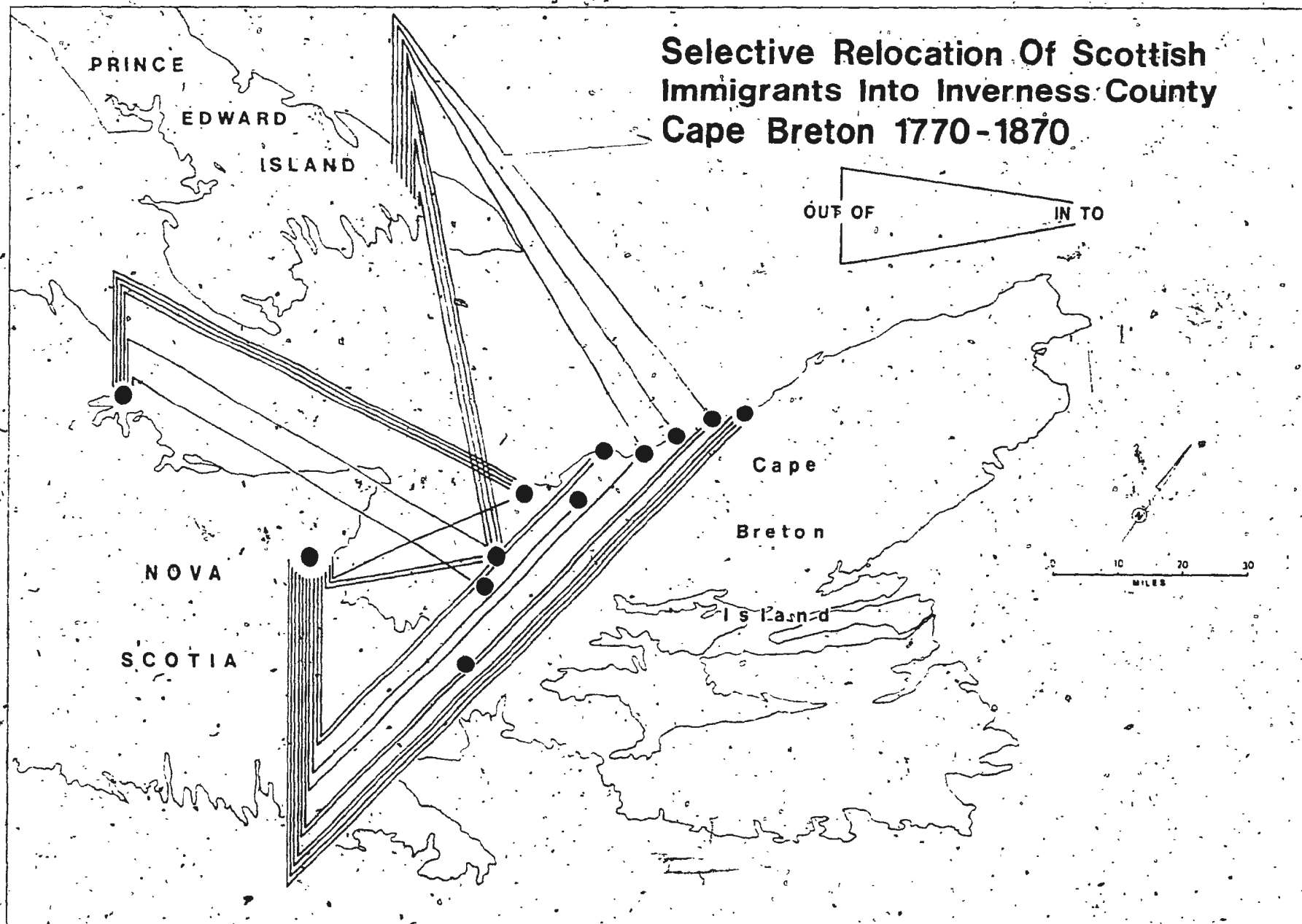


Fig. 3.3

# Location In Cape Breton By Scottish Source Area

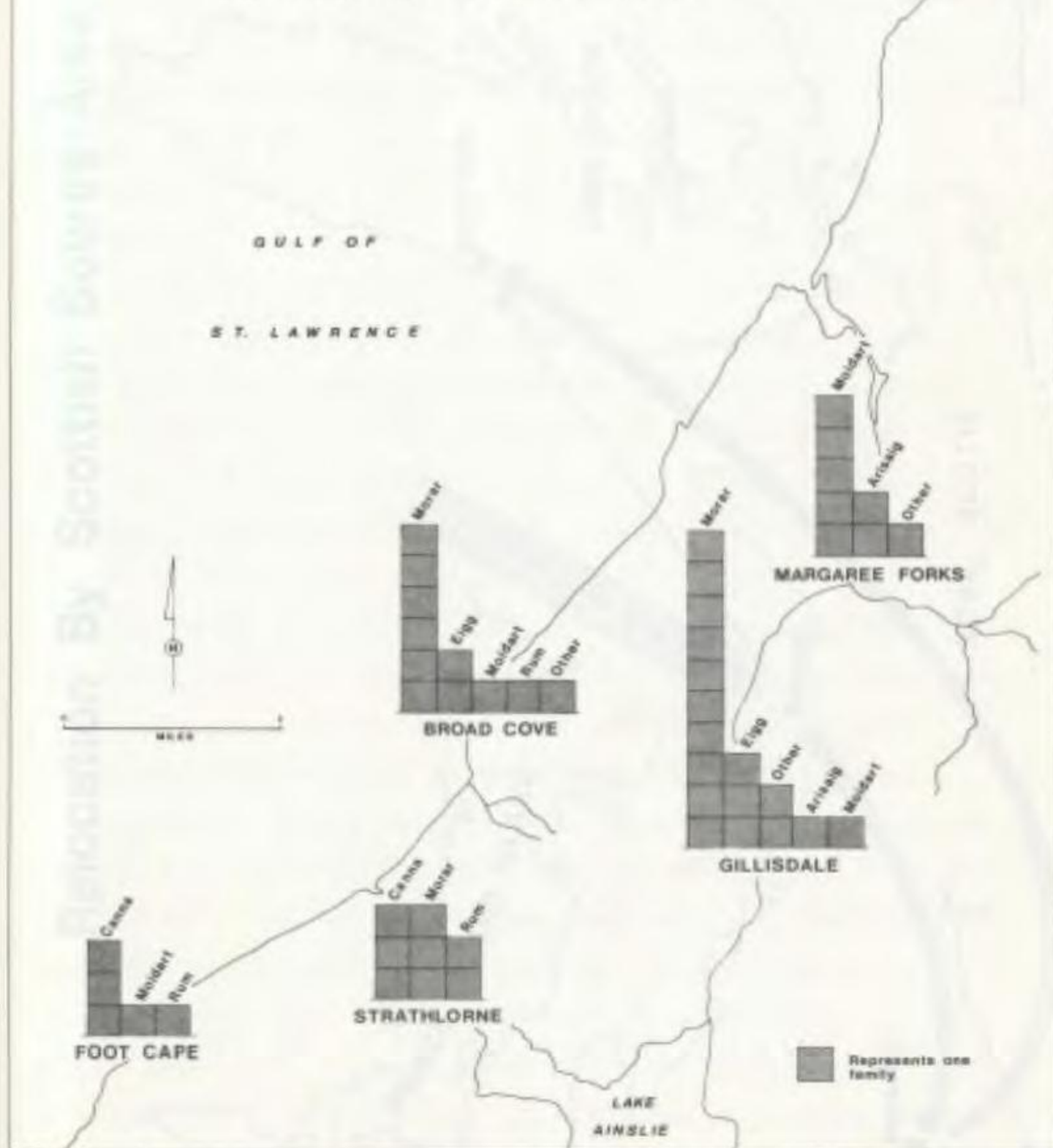


Fig. 3.4



## Relocation By Scottish Source Area

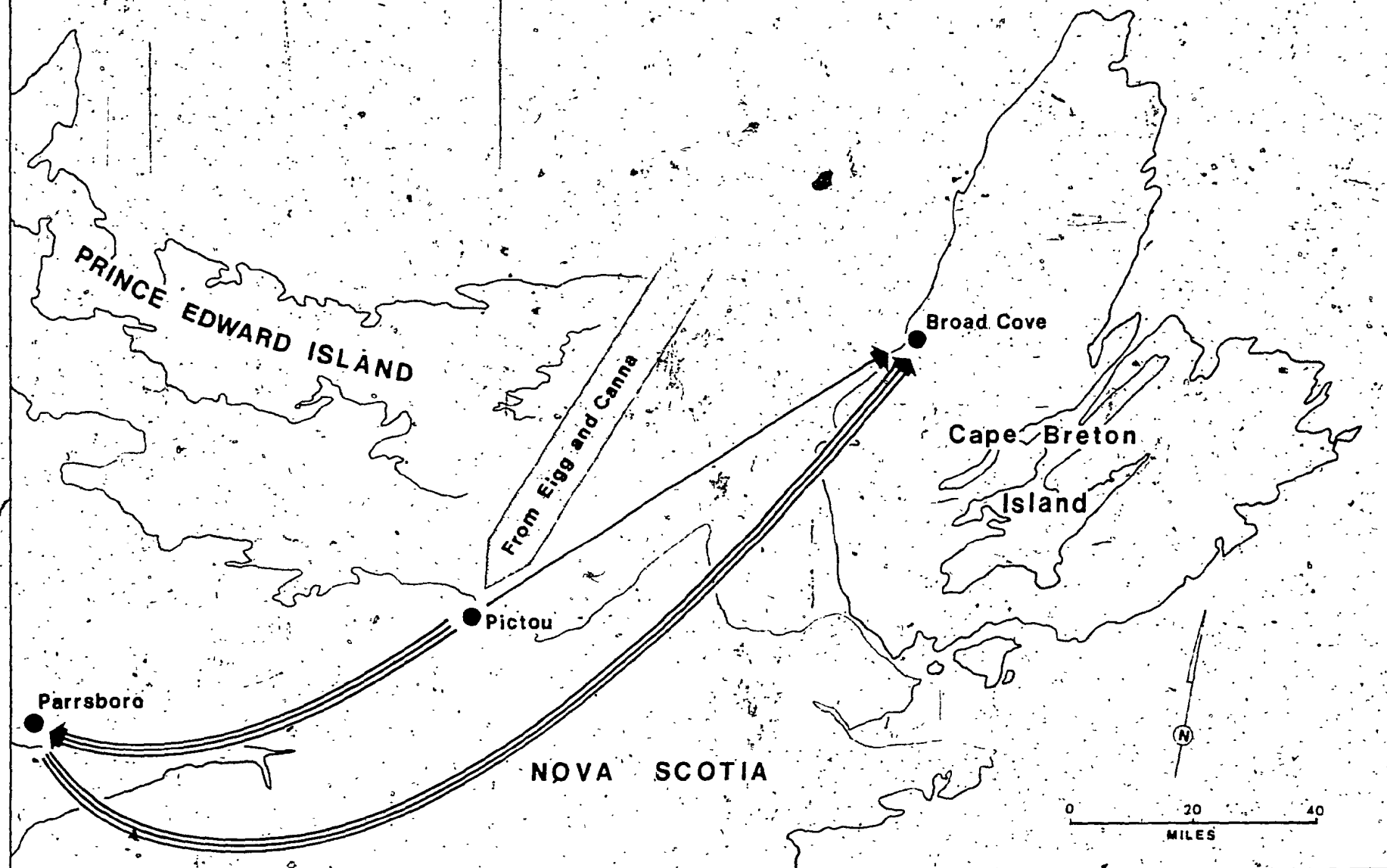


Fig. 3.5

them later migrated to southwestern Newfoundland. Another instance of relocation by Scottish source area, this time within Inverness County, is that of the family of John Gillis (Gobha) who came from southwest Port Hood to Margaree Forks about 1830, to reside near his brother, Angus Gillis (Hugh) who had moved from Port Hood in 1828. These two brothers settled in an area (today known as 'Gillisdale') which contained other Gillis families, also from the same Scottish source area (Morar).<sup>16</sup>

Figure 3.6 shows that this location by same surname, which has been described above for the Gillises of Margaree Forks, was a common place occurrence in Broad Cove and Margaree, and there are instances where people are known to have been related in Scotland. Some of the McIsaacs of Broad Cove Banks were members of an extended kin group in Scotland, as were the Gillises of South West Margaree<sup>17</sup> (see Figure 3.6).

The Scots surname system of patronymics served to identify these people one with another within their Scottish context. For example, the family of John McEachuinn, Gobh, came to Judique from South Uist in 1791 in a kin group immigration. This kin group and its descendants are described by MacDougall<sup>18</sup> as part of Clann Eachuinn i.e. the sons of Hector, son of Roderick, third Captain (i.e. Chief) of Clanrahal.<sup>19</sup> This identification process was often adapted in the New World so that a newly-developing, Cape Breton based set of patronymics served to identify later generations within the Cape Breton context, these patronymics evolving during the generations immediately following pioneer settlement. One such case is that of the Clann Sheumais (James) of Judique Banks, named after the father of three brothers who settled

# Location In Cape Breton By Surname

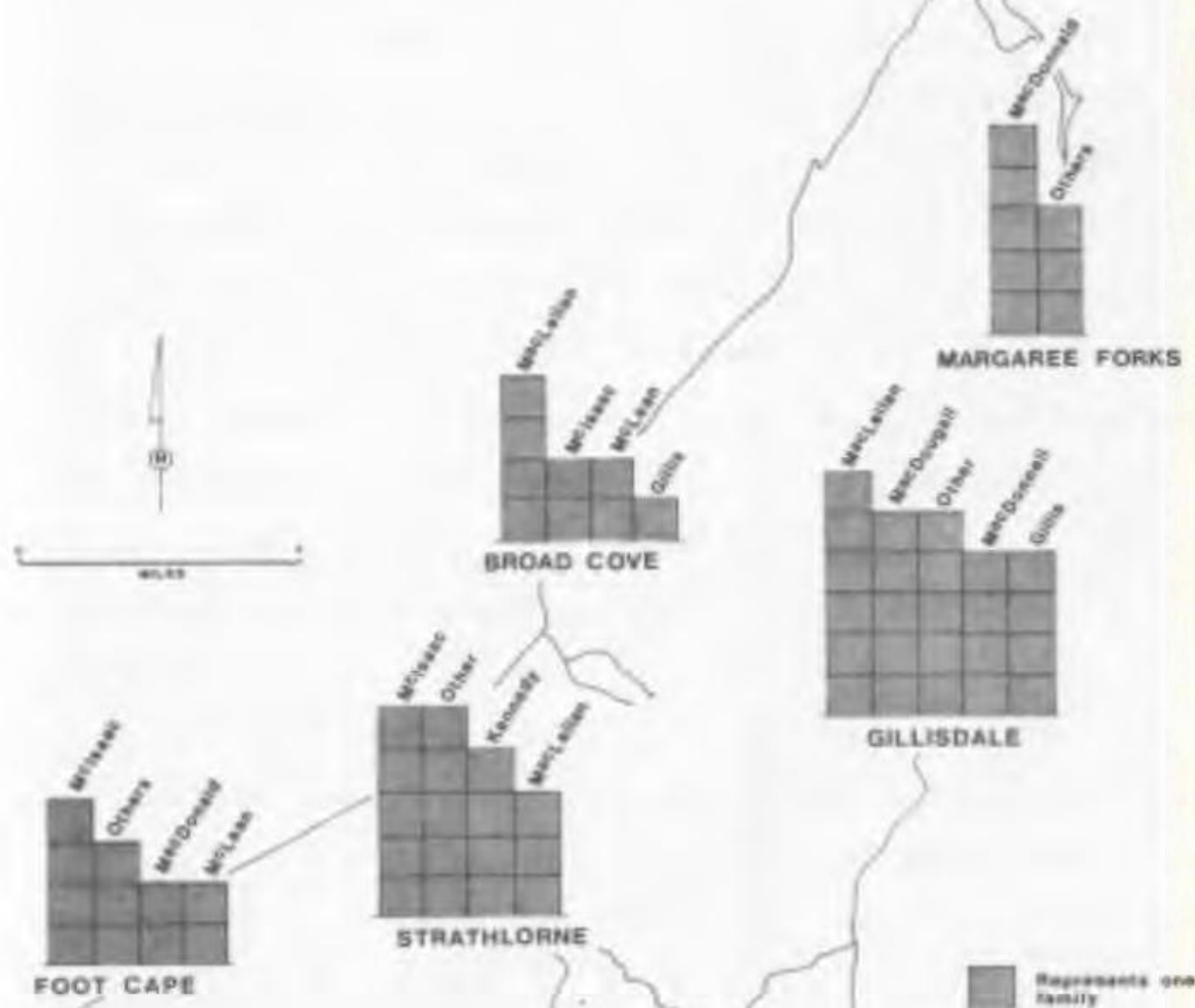


Fig. 3.6

from Moidart in 1798.<sup>20</sup> Again, there are instances of family genealogies retained in surnames as with Dougald MacFarlane (of Glenorchy, Scotland) who was known as "Dughail MacPhàdruig 'ic Phadruig 'ic Iain 'ic Illeschriosd 'ic Iain."<sup>21</sup> It is significant that these identification systems were transferred to Cape Breton, in that they reinforced the traditional Highland awareness of kinship ties in a situation which would normally have sundered such ties.

Marriage patterns among the first three to four generations in Cape Breton reflect this awareness, and the marriages of the kind shown in Figure 3.7, for example, would serve to bind families from the same Scottish source areas more tightly together. Figure 3.7 shows that in this selection of marriage partner in the immediate post-pioneer generation distance was no major constraint. They married locally and at distance, and the governing factor appears to be spouse selection by Scottish source area. For example the Canna/Morar connections of Glendale involved partners chosen over a small area, while the Lochaber connections of Margaree Harbour involved partners chosen over a much wider area. The Strathglass Chisholms of North-East Margaree sought their partners both locally and over some distance, maintaining a marriage choice based on Scottish origins rather than Cape Breton neighbours. Perhaps the most striking example is that of the McLean family of Whale Cove, originally from Rum, who married both locally and across County boundaries to maintain a choice of partners from the same Scottish source area. Incomplete data, however, prevent a more detailed analysis of marriage choices.<sup>22</sup>

# **Post Pioneer Broad Cove And Margaree Marriage By Scottish Source Area**

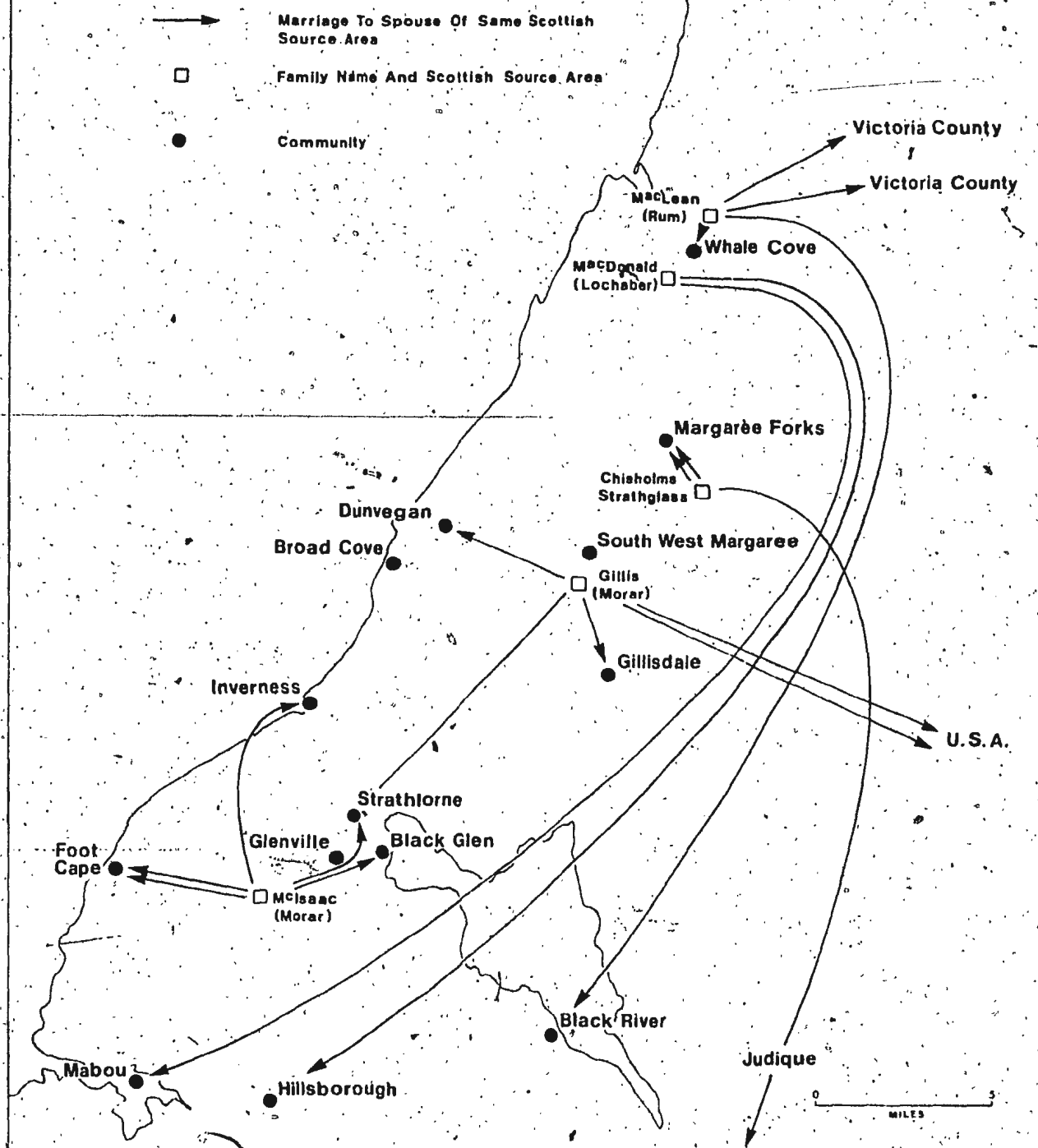


Fig. 3.7

It is suggested that the evidence indicates that the population of Broad Cove and Margaree - and probably other parts of Cape Breton where Highland Scots settlement was dominant - was a result, not only of direct Scottish immigration, but also of a "sorting-out" process which came about through initial mobility of immigrants and their descendants, and resulted in a population which was biased towards particular Scottish source areas and local (Scots) kindred. This is the only reasonable explanation of the phenomenon described by Dunn:

Today, more than 100 years later, the offspring of these settlers still speak Gaelic with a Lewis or a Barra or a North Uist or a South Uist accent, depending on the locality [i.e. in Cape Breton] in which they were reared.<sup>23</sup>

## II The Broad Cove, Margaree and Southwestern Newfoundland Migration

Figure 3.8 (Broad Cove) shows the preponderance of Clanranald Scottish source areas discussed earlier in the chapter. Figure 3.9 (Margaree) presents a more complex picture; although Morar and Moidart are important, other Scottish source areas are numerous, and the population also consists of other ethnic groups, especially Irish. The reason for this "mixed" population is related to the timing of the settlement of Inverness County, and the location of Margaree next to an area of almost exclusively French settlement. Margaree was settled rather later than Broad Cove, and was, in fact, the last part of Inverness County to receive the impact of immigration from Britain,<sup>24</sup> which had progressed north from the Gut of Canso. Dates of arrival of settlers given by MacDougall vary considerably, but, in general, the Scots were earliest (1810-1830) while the Irish mostly arrived in the 1840's,

# Scottish Source Areas Broad Cove/Newfoundland

(PERCENT)

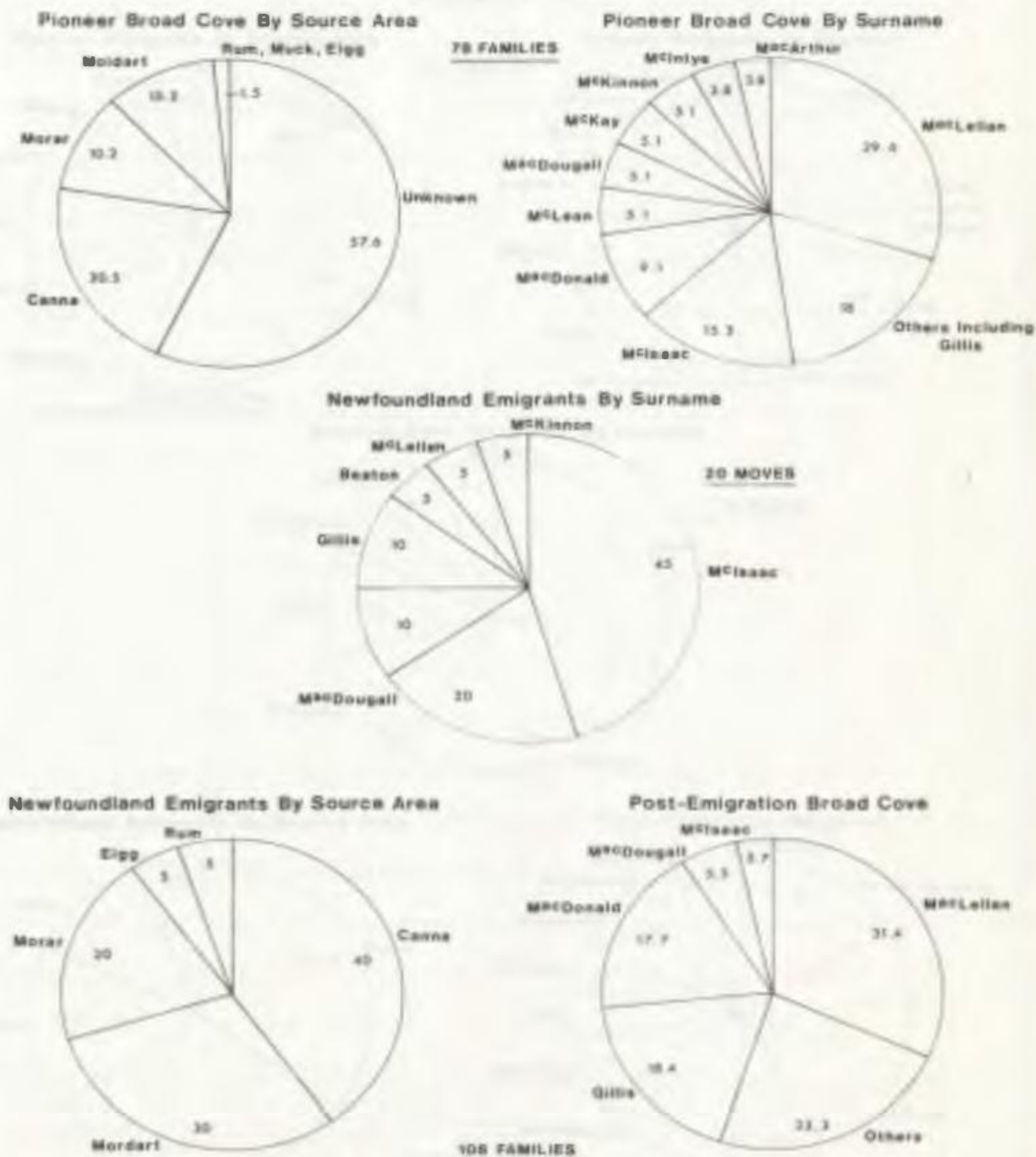
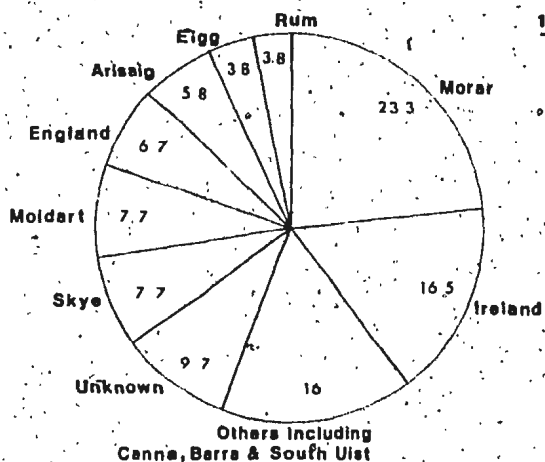


Fig. 3.8

# Scottish Source Areas Margaree / Newfoundland

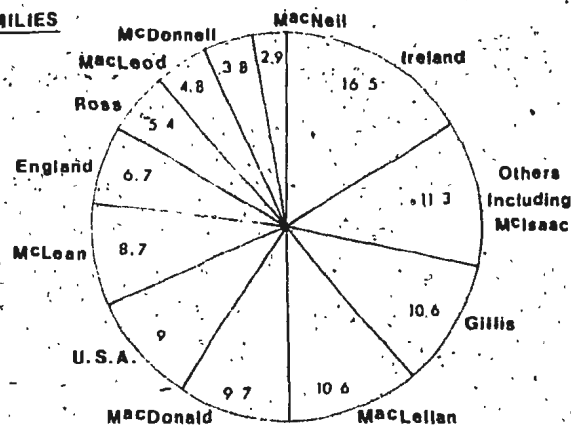
(PERCENT)

Pioneer Margaree By Source Area

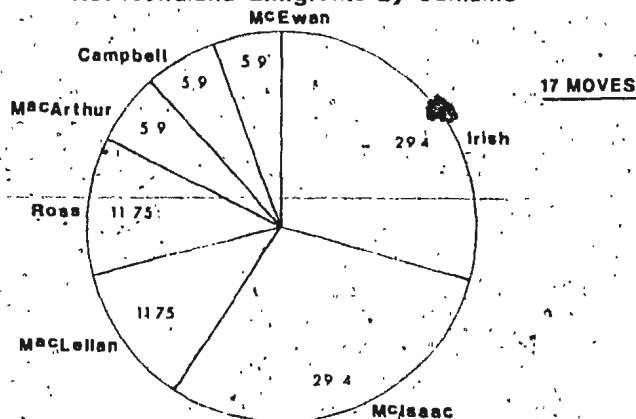


Pioneer Margaree By Surname

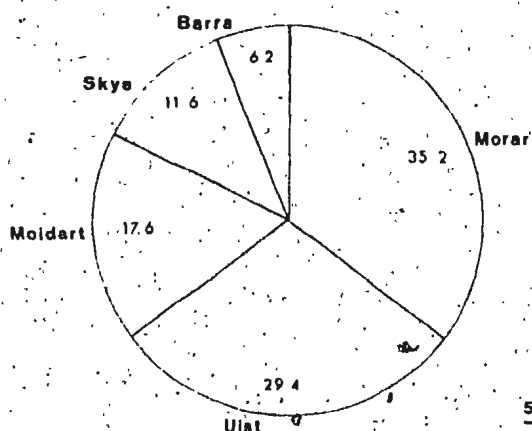
103 FAMILIES



Newfoundland Emigrants By Surname



Newfoundland Emigrants By Source Area



Post-Emigration Margaree

56 FAMILIES

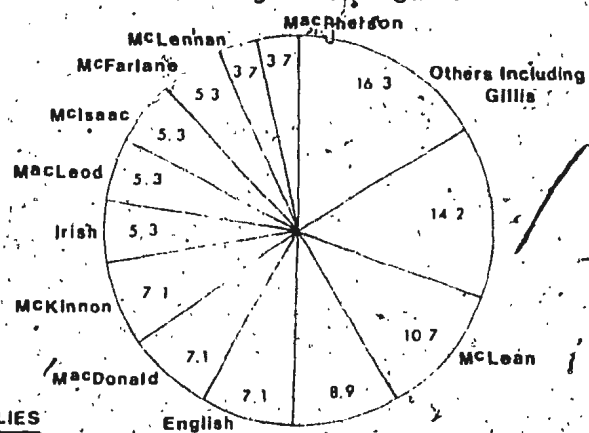


Fig. 3.9



many of them probably being part of the "Famine" emigration of 1847.<sup>25</sup> Margaree most likely contained a population which had not as yet had time to reorganize itself along a Scottish source area bias: there was considerable likelihood of this situation persisting, since the land north of Margaree was already long settled by Acadian French, thereby limiting further expansion. However, both Broad Cove and Margaree migrants to southwestern Newfoundland belong to Clanranald source areas.

Not only were the populations of Broad Cove and Margaree biased towards particular Scottish source areas, but they also were composed of a number of extended kin groups. Figures based on calculations made from MacDouqall's genealogies show that 71% (134 of the 188 total pioneer adult male population) were already related to other persons (excluding wives) in Broad Cove and Margaree before they left Scotland. The highest proportion of related kin for Broad Cove and Margaree pioneers which can be calculated is 78%, the figure being obtained when kin spread across all of Cape Breton, Pictou and Antigonish is included. Thus Broad Cove and Margaree represent a "core" of related kin.<sup>26</sup> The migrants to southwestern Newfoundland also show these characteristics, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Figures 3.8 and 3.9, apart from showing bias towards Scottish source area, also show that the emigration to southwestern Newfoundland was not in any way a random selection of the pioneer population of Broad Cove or Margaree. In both figures, a heavy bias is shown towards McIsaacs. When considered in conjunction with the pie-graphs depicting "post emigration" Broad Cove and Margaree, this fact becomes more striking. In Broad Cove, the McLeans remain numerically dominant, but

the McIsaacs are reduced to 3.7% of the population. Their statistical "position" in the graph has been usurped by the Gillises, who were previously insignificant. In Margaree, the settlement shows a complete re-arrangement of population, which suggests that the "sorting-out" process postulated earlier is now underway. The McIsaacs in this case remain in the population, but the graphs of the immigrants to Newfoundland show the exodus of some five McIsaac families, more than of any other Scots blood group. In Margaree, however, it is the absence of Irish families as a dominant factor in the post-emigration population that is most striking. Figure 3.3 showed the immigration of Scots onto the Inverness County shore. Figure 3.10 shows the number of emigrants from this shore to southwestern Newfoundland. Much of the immigration to Cape Breton was completed over thirty to forty years following the original immigrants, while the outward movement from the same shore appeared to gain impetus as the "homing-in" movement died away, about 1840 to 1850. This time sequence may be indicative of land pressure, as may be the fact that many of the Irish of Margaree are known to have merely "passed through" Cape Breton, staying less than one full generation before migrating to southwestern Newfoundland. Figure 3.11, gives some indication of the distribution of the 188 pioneer families of Broad Cove and Margaree, and it is clear that expansion into new land would be unlikely after the second generation, all coastal and riverine land having already been settled. Hobson notes the ultimate necessity of settling on "inhospitable upland sites" and proposes this as an important factor in emigration from Cape Breton.<sup>27</sup> She continues,

# Selective Relocation Of Scottish Immigrants From The Gulf Of St. Lawrence Into Southwestern Newfoundland 1840-1860

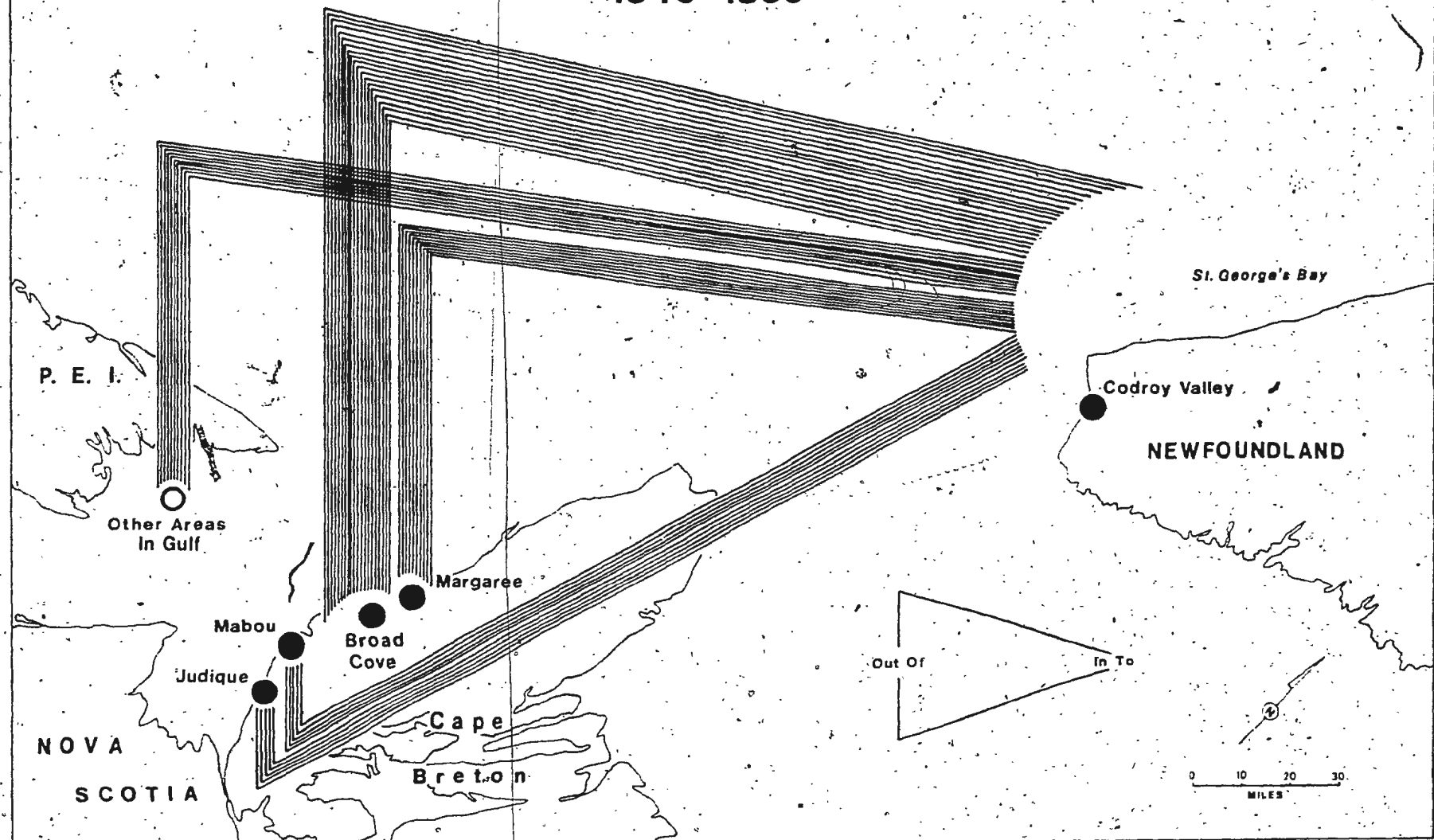


Fig. 3.10

# Settled Areas By Pioneer Families c. 1840

Settled Land



GULF OF  
ST. LAWRENCE

French Settlements



Fig. 3.11

It is estimated that 25,000 Highlanders settled in Cape Breton Island within less than forty years.... The result was that by the time that immigration ceased, soon after 1838, the better lands were often as congested as those which people had vacated in Scotland.<sup>28</sup>

Dunn, too, comments on the fact that Highlanders latterly had to "content themselves with the remote and often precipitous rear lands",<sup>29</sup> and oral evidence from Broad Cove and Margaree today offers this as the reason for the Newfoundland emigration.<sup>30</sup>

It is difficult to establish beyond doubt the reasons why the Codroy Valley and St. George's Bay were chosen as areas for new settlement. However, several factors may be suggested. First, the position of Margaree as the boundary of "British" settlement in Inverness County<sup>31</sup> meant that the next available land was that across the Cabot Strait, in the southwestern corner of Newfoundland. Second, Codroy Valley and St. George's Bay, more than any other areas of southwestern Newfoundland, were similar to the physical environment of Broad Cove and Margaree, and were also reasonable farming areas. Plates I and II show Margaree Valley and Codroy Valley respectively, showing the wide flood plain and intervale land, which type of land is a feature of both areas. The Scots who settled Broad Cove and Margaree were predominantly farmers and remained so over several generations. Of Broad Cove, MacDougall says that "some of the farmers on this shore worship the call of the blue sea.... fishing between seed time and harvest."<sup>32</sup> In contrast, he notes of the Cheticamp French: "In the summer the men are fishing and therefore the women ... heed the farm."<sup>33</sup> The National Census of 1860-61 records only one fisherman and three mariners in Margaree, compared to sixty-four farmers or farm labourers, out of a working force

PLATE 1  
Codroy Valley

69



PLATE 2  
Margaree



of eighty-seven persons. The total herring (the major species caught) catch was only nine barrels in 1860. Present-day informants can only remember one Scots ancestor who styled himself "fisherman" in Margaree Harbour.

The quality of land in the Codroy Valley was also an incentive to settlement. Brosnan, writing the pioneer history of St. George's diocese (southwestern Newfoundland), and discussing the reasons for the Cape Breton immigration, noted: "The lure was the stories that travelled to Nova Scotia of the wonderful fertility of the soil in many parts of the West Coast of Newfoundland."<sup>34</sup> Reports to the Newfoundland government at the time of immigration emphasise the wealth of the land.<sup>35</sup> "There are some good farms up the river [Grand Codroy], and the land appears ... to be a very eligible place for farming purposes ... the catch of codfish is very small ...". Of the Little Codroy River, the same report says: "The persons who farm most here are Scotch people who have settled here lately."

Fishing does not seem to have been an incentive to settlement, except in the sense that rumours of a good salmon fishery may have drawn attention to the area to a sufficient extent to initiate settlement which was agricultural rather than maritime. While the Newfoundland journals of the House of Assembly report that "Those Rivers are not suitable for fishing purposes",<sup>36</sup> a Scots visitor to the area from Cape Breton as early as 1842 was investigating the reputation of "Codroy" as a "very fine river for salmon".<sup>37</sup> French claims to exclusive rights to the fishery meant that salmon fishing at the mouths of the two Codroy Rivers was not permissible, but Campbell noted that he was

told that "the land on both sides of the river is of excellent quality and would admit of extensive settlement." He added that he wished

... to be informed what encouragement would be held out to persons wishing to settle there.... If I shall be able to defray the expense I intend to go myself either this Fall or next Spring to see the extent of the aforesaid river and the quality of land.

A note on the back of the letter comments that "with regard to settlement of British Subjects within these [i.e. French] limits, it is prohibited by existing Treaties." The year is one year later than oral evidence places the settlement of the first Scots settler in Grand River Codroy. It is probable that contacts such as this were the vehicle by which information about the area was carried back to Cape Breton.

While it seems certain that good land, a perceived need for an expanding frontier, and a similar physical environment were factors influencing the Cape Breton migration to southwestern Newfoundland, oral evidence in Newfoundland itself offers further insight into the move. The descendants of those who moved, claim that their ancestors came to Codroy Valley as a result of heavy taxation in Cape Breton - a claim that is refuted by the people of Broad Cove and Margaree, and for which there is no known documentary basis. Yet Brosnan notes that "it was also well-known that it was easy to get a block of land [in Codroy] which was gratis, if one could hold it. Taxes were almost unknown."<sup>38</sup>

MacDonald offers a possible explanation of this conflict of Newfoundland and Cape Breton evidence, commenting: "A grievance arose out of the tenure of land ... settlers were merely tenants-at-will [in Cape Breton] of absentee proprietors, and were alarmed at the



insecurity of their title ... many left for other Colonies rather than endure such uncertainty."<sup>39</sup> This is borne out by the oral evidence of one Codroy Valley informant, who said of her family's move to Newfoundland: "They had twelve cows and other things, but the landlord owned the land ... They came to O'Regans and took up land and built."

Another Codroy Valley family recalls a son of their Cape Breton ancestor who married the daughter of their then landlord, a MacDonald, who lived in Antigonish.<sup>40</sup>

When local perception of land pressure<sup>41</sup> and tenure difficulties are considered together, they echo the conditions promoting the original Scottish migrations. Overpopulation, and insecurity of tenure, had necessitated and brought about the Scottish emigrations; overpopulation, coupled with insecurity of tenure, would seem to provide strong motivation for further migration in the New World. It is not too surprising that the immigrant Scots would be a land-hungry people, determined to prevent past deprivations from repeating themselves as they seemed to be threatening to do.<sup>42</sup>

Land pressure, however, should operate randomly, in terms of emigration, throughout a population in congested areas, unless certain controls existed to shift or focus the direction of the pressure. For example, later settlers, if occupying marginal (rear) lands would be expected to be amongst those first affected, as were the Margaree Irish. Likewise, earliest settlers, if one or more generations "in advance" of the remainder of the community, might find their expanding families had insufficient land. Such controls, however, do not affect all the Newfoundland migrants - some are affected by one, some by

another, but none suffice to explain the bias towards McIsaacs which is evident in Figures 3.8 and 3.9. Land pressure, and/or tenure difficulties, were probably basic causes for the start of the emigration, but do not explain the selection process evidenced. Nor can it be said that all McIsaacs owned only poor or insufficient land. One family is known to have owned 600 acres on the Banks of Broad Cove, yet they sold out to come to Codroy, Newfoundland.<sup>43</sup>

It would appear that some social factor or factors operated to promulgate an emigration of McIsaacs. No information on this matter has been forthcoming from informants or historical sources, though kin group migrations were not uncommon in the traditional Highland setting examined by Macpherson in Badenoch.<sup>44</sup> Within the context of an operative kin system in Broad Cove and Margaree, which had roots in a localised combination of Scottish source areas, it is likely that social pressures which ultimately derived from Scotland were functioning to promote this bias. The McIsaacs were unimportant in the later years of the Scottish clan system, and the immigration of prominent Clan Donald/Clan Ranald surnames into Broad Cove and Margaree could have threatened the social status of the McIsaacs. They, however, in the context of a frontier situation, could remedy this threat by removing to a new area where they and their kin could be numerically dominant.

It is certain that the moves from Cape Breton to southwestern Newfoundland were very similar to those from Scotland to Cape Breton, in that they were moves of extended families coming from localised areas. As such, they were very different from those moves typical of the Nineteenth Century French Shore settlements of Newfoundland, and,

indeed, different from much of Newfoundland in general, where the settlement process entailed nuclear families settling in relative isolation along the coasts, and depending on a subsistence economy which was directed towards the fishery rather than agriculture.

Settlement in the Codroy Valley for the individual family was far from isolated; instead the Cape Breton Islanders settled by and large in adjacent lots, concentrated around the two rivers and even inland. - Figure 3.12. - Land grants, awarded after 1881 (when government authority was finally given to make grants on the French Shore) show an intense concentration of settlement around the rivers. A "township" survey by Howley - whose base lines are marked on the cadastral map of the area - had to be abandoned due to the concentration of settlement in the Codroy Valley.

Individual members of extended kin groups did not necessarily settle beside one another, at least in the early years, since, in the words of one informant, they "spread out because they chose the good land."<sup>45</sup>

Investigation of the pattern of pioneer settlement in southwestern Newfoundland will now be examined in the context of the kin relationships which existed between the immigrant families prior to their arrival in Newfoundland; and also in the context of the broader social traditions of the Scottish or Cape Breton source areas which they or their ancestors had abandoned.

## Codroy Valley Initial Settlement



Fig. 3.12

### NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. See for example N. MacDonald, Canada, 1763-1841, Immigration and Settlement; The Administration of Imperial Land Regulations (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939).  
H.I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961).  
C.W. Dunn, Highland Settler; A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953).
2. A further refinement is the identification of surname, not only with territory, but also with other surnames. Cf. A.G. Macpherson, An Old Highland Parish Register, I: Scottish Studies, Vol. 11 (1967), p. 154 ff.
3. Surnames of the Newfoundland migrants are obtained from MacDougall's genealogies, and from the Parish Register of Searston, Codroy Valley, Newfoundland.
4. Dunn, op. cit., p. 25. Also p. 26 where he notes: "... when people so clannish as the Highlanders arrived in a strange country, they preferred, if possible to settle among pioneers who had come from their particular district in Scotland ..."  
W.A. Carrothers, Emigration from the British Isles (First Edition; London and Edinburgh: Nelson, 1929).  
H.I. Cowan, op. cit.
5. For a more detailed history of the immigration see Carrothers, op. cit., Cowan, op. cit., MacDonald, op. cit., and N. MacDonald, Canada: Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968).
6. MacDonald, Canada ... 1763-1841, op. cit., p. 470.
7. J.L. MacDougall, History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia (Truro, Nova Scotia: News Publishing Co. Ltd., 1922).
8. Parish Register of St. George's, Newfoundland. "Baptisms and Marriages, Confirmations and Deaths, 1868-74", Volume 3.
9. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 470.  
MacDougall, op. cit., passim.  
Also oral evidence from Cape Breton and Newfoundland informants.
10. MacDougall, op. cit., p. 356.

11. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 471.  
See also Dunn, op. cit., p. 66.
12. A brief preliminary statement on this topic was presented jointly with Dr. A.G. Macpherson, as part of a paper, entitled "The Role of the Scot in the Historical Geography of Newfoundland: a Reconnaissance," and read to the Learned Societies of Canada, Conference on Scottish Studies, at Memorial University of Newfoundland, May 1971.
13. This is part of the genealogical format of MacDougall, imposed by the high frequency of moves in pioneer, or even second, generation. Additional information in Figure 3.3 is from personal communications with informants. No detailed study of the Cape Breton Scots immigration and settlement exists.
14. It is suggested that, though this is only one example, it reflects a broad pattern of mobility and relocation of Scots in the southern Gulf area. The Codroy Valley Scots are another example, as are the Gillises of South West Margaree, and Margaree Forks - see p. 57.
15. MacDougall, op. cit., pp. 352-355.
16. Genealogical information from MacDougall, op. cit., pp. 396-402.
17. MacDougall, op. cit., p. 401. Of these Gillises, he says: "Other Morar Gillises who settled at South West Margaree were Archy Gillis (Ban) Egypt, John Gillis (MacRaonuill ruaith ic Alistair): an uncle and cousin respectively of Alexander Gillis (Mac Ian ic Alistair) and Allan Gillis (Ban) (MacAlistair ic Ian ic Dhugail)."
18. MacDougall, op. cit., p. 227.
19. See Appendix One.
20. MacDougall, op. cit., p. 194.
21. Ibid., p. 403. The patronymic means: "Dougald, son of Patrick (or Peter), son of Patrick, son of John, son of Gillchrist, son of John."
22. Choice of marriage partner is an aspect of Cape Breton kinship that demands more detailed investigation than this study can afford. Data of this nature in MacDougall are incomplete and will not permit of quantification. Further investigation of this topic would throw considerable light on the social organization of Cape Breton, and possibly aid in explanation of the mobility demonstrated here for early generations of Highland descendants.
23. Dunn, op. cit., p. 142.

24. R.W. Flewelling, Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1839-1851. Paper read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1948), p. 87. "After 1843, the tide of immigration ebbed away from the Cape Breton shores."
25. Ibid., p. 76.
26. While few comparative statistics are available, Mannion notes the lack of extended family networks in the Irish Migrations to eastern Canada. Cf. J.J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, In Press), p. 44, Manuscript.
27. P.M. Hobson, "Population and Settlement in Nova Scotia," Scot. Geog. Mag., Vol. 70, No. 2 (Sept. 1954).
28. Ibid., p. 51.
29. Dunn, op. cit., p. 66. See also pp. 124-125 where he cites specific examples.
30. It is interesting, however, to note that this oral evidence contains the opinion of present-day settlers that the rear lands were capable of settlement and farming, but that they required a lot more labour and people preferred to move on to locations where it would be easier to farm.
31. Hobson, op. cit., p. 56. She restricts the Scots areas to further south, but this is erroneous. MacDougall (op. cit., p. 450) is quite specific: "That portion of this country lying between the Harbour and River Margaree and the borders of Pleasant Bay is inhabited exclusively by people of French descent." The National Census of 1860-61 shows that 76% of the surnames of Cheticamp are French, while Margaree has only one French surname.
32. MacDougall, op. cit., p. 351.
33. Ibid., p. 454.
34. Very Rev. M. Brosnan, Pioneer History of St. George's Diocese, Newfoundland (Toronto: Mission Press, 1948), p. 13.
35. Journals, Newfoundland House of Assembly, 1858, p. 436. Appendix. "Report of M.J. Kelly". This report emphasised the lack of proper land use by the (non-Cape Breton) people of Codroy Island: "the inhabitants confine their agricultural labours to the keeping of a few head of cattle." Up-river, in Cape Breton-settled areas, he noted prosperous farms.

36. Ibid., 1857, p. 331.  
This same report also mentions "large stocks of horned cattle" belonging to "British subjects" in the area.
37. Newfoundland, Department of the Colonial Secretary, Incoming Correspondence. 43 (1842), p. 34. Letter of Norman Campbell, dated September 10 and written from Margaree, Cape Breton.
38. Brosnan, op. cit., p. 13.  
The condition of being able to "hold" land may refer to claims of exclusive French rights on the French Shore and Confederation.
39. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 471. He refers to Colonial Office Series 217 (Old M Series) for Cape Breton. Also to a letter of McKinnon, Clerk of Council, February 7, 1811.
40. M.B. Knight, personal communication, based on information from Allan MacArthur, Codroy Valley, Newfoundland.
41. No detailed work has been done on the possible existence of land pressure in Cape Breton at the time of the migration to Newfoundland. However, for the purposes of the present study, what is important is that pressure on land was perceived by at least some of the local people, regardless of the economic validity of their perception.
42. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 241.
43. MacDougall, op. cit., pp. 325-327.
44. Macpherson, Pers. comm., May 1973.
45. Verbatim. Mrs. Harriet MacArthur: Pers. comm., Codroy Valley, Newfoundland, August 1971.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE ROLE OF KINSHIP IN THE SCOTS SETTLEMENT OF CODROY VALLEY, NEWFOUNDLAND

The Scots who came to the Codroy Valley in the twenty years following 1841 were both "Scottish born" and "Cape Breton born". Not only were there close ties of kinship among them, but also many knew members of other ethnic groups migrating from Cape Breton to southwestern Newfoundland at the same time. The relatively restricted source areas in Cape Breton allowed this, and, although rare, inter-ethnic marriage had already occurred prior to migration to Newfoundland, a pattern which persisted among the different ethnic groups in the Codroy Valley (Figure 4.1). Chapter III demonstrated the existence of a core area of related kin in the Cape Breton source areas, and that these kinship ties were derived from Scotland. The migration from Cape Breton was similarly one of related kin, both extended families and other more distant relatives who came to Codroy Valley in small schooners, either together or within a few years of one another. This "chain migration" was a direct result of kinship ties between Codroy Valley and Cape Breton.

The methodology used in the investigation of this kinship factor in Newfoundland requires explanation. Memory of early kinship ties in the Codroy Valley is sometimes hazy, due to a considerable outmigration from Grand River and Little River, about 1900 (Figure 4.2). In order

# Early Inter - Ethnic Marriage, Codroy Valley (CIRCA 1840)

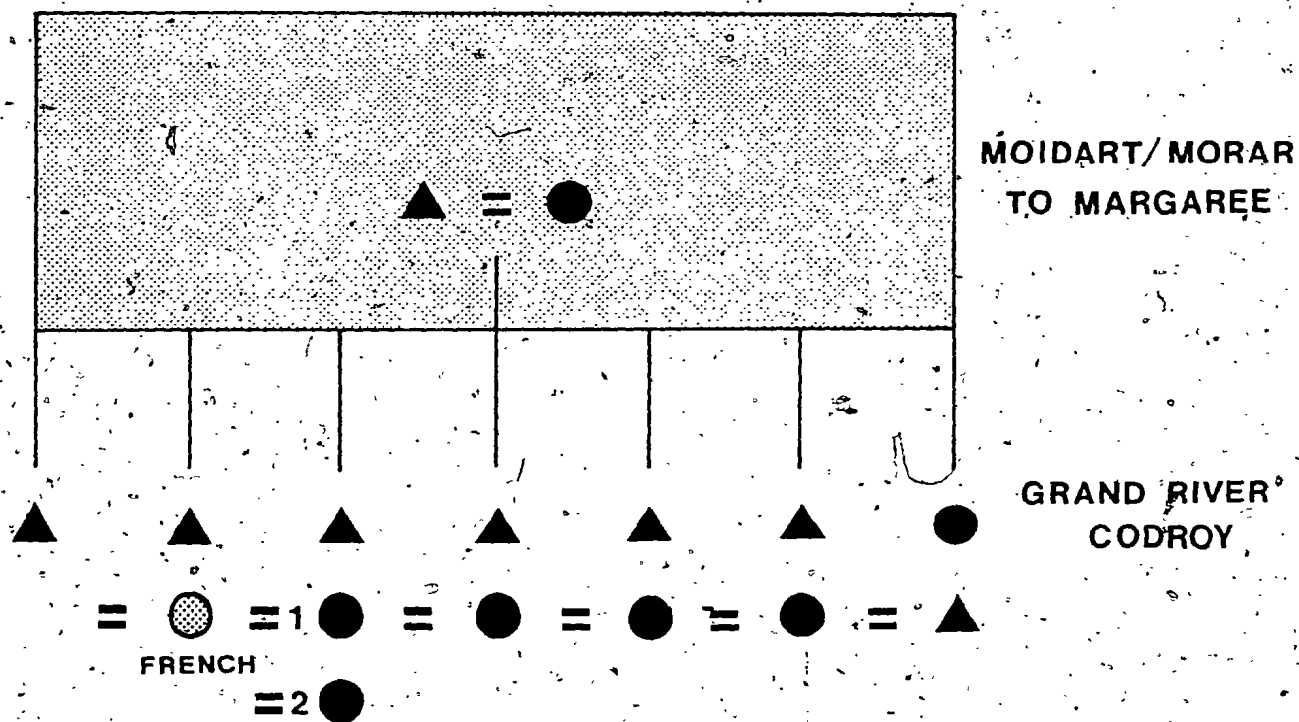


Fig. 4-1

## Codroy Valley: Population Loss Circa 1901

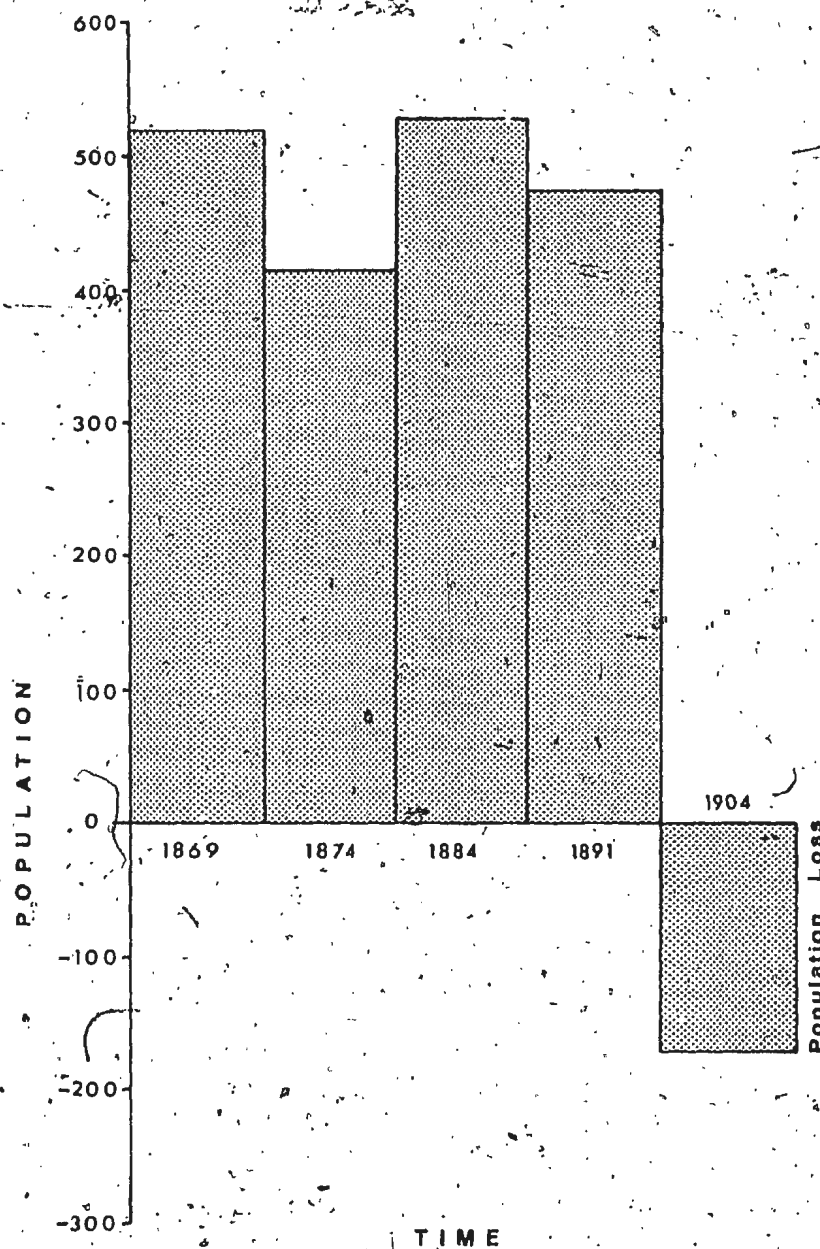


Fig. 4.2

to obtain comprehensive information on kinship ties for the early generations. Family reconstitution of the parish register<sup>1</sup> is used in conjunction with genealogical data from interviews. Investigation so far has focussed on one particular aspect of a family - consanguinal and marital relationships with the families in a given area. Family reconstitution is "the bringing together of scattered information about the members of a family"<sup>2</sup> from records of births, marriages and deaths entered in sequence in the parish register. Eversley noted that

the object [of family reconstitution] is to discover the mechanisms which lie behind the complex observed relationships between economy, social structure and population movements ... it is clear that the mechanism can only be observed at the level at which it operates - that of the individual, his family and the immediate community in which he lives and works.<sup>3</sup>

One of the primary concerns of this study is to elucidate the effect of kin upon migration, resultant settlement, and the evolution of a community on the land. A major difficulty has been the uncertainty surrounding the pioneer generation of settlers in the Codroy Valley until about 1870, before which time the register is so insufficiently complete as to preclude the establishment of exact kinship links for all Scots families. Oral genealogies supplement the register in this time period, but where folk memory fails the record of the pioneers and their children, born in Cape Breton and in Codroy Valley in the immediate post-immigration period, is lost. A second problem arises concerning the selectivity of the data which is extracted from the register. Information is complete for Scots and Scots/other ethnic group marriages, but these other groups have not been extracted exhaustively and therefore no adequate comparison can be made of the

Scots with the total population.

The length of time over which reconstitution was effected was three generations, seventy-five years, a time span found adequate by Macpherson in his study of social structure among the Nineteenth Century Badenoch Scots.<sup>4</sup>

The Searston register presents some problems of reconstitution even after 1870. For example, some births from 1870-1874 are missing for the Scots, though there are sufficient entries to verify that this is not a true hiatus in the Register, and oral evidence has been able to supply many of the missing entries.<sup>5</sup> There is considerable consistency between oral genealogical evidence and the family reconstitutions, and the constant awareness of inconsistencies or incomplete information which is involved in family reconstitution provides a safeguard against erroneous information remaining undetected. The findings derived from this combined use of parish register data and oral genealogical evidence may be considered to be of greater reliability for demographic analysis than sources such as census material, which often give a spurious impression of accuracy.

The peculiarities of Scots nomenclature which occur both in the Register and in the orally-derived genealogies, serve occasionally to elucidate, but frequently to confuse, the researcher in attempts to reconstitute families who have moved across space over a considerable period of time. In Chapter III it was noted that the Scots system of patronymics had been transmitted to Cape Breton. This system clarified family relationships, delineating the nuclear or extended family to which a person belonged. Within a relatively closed ethnic society, such as

that of Inverness County, the system was entirely functional. However, following migration to Newfoundland and entry into an ethnically heterogeneous society, patronymics played a less useful role. The parish priests who compiled the early Register were of French and Irish extraction and unfamiliar with the Scots patronymics. Consequently, records of births, marriages and deaths giving the surname and christian name of the person or persons concerned, in the ordinary fashion, do not match the genealogical information given by MacDougall in all cases. Thus, for example, the family of Seumas Mac Allistair (i.e. James; son of Alistair) are known to be MacDonalds, some of whom went to the Codroy Valley. The Searston Register records several MacDonald families, but it cannot be positively established which family is that of Seumas Mac Allistair.<sup>6</sup>

Three further, and related, problems must also be considered. The Scots families who came to Codroy Valley frequently had the same surnames, which usually, but not always, implied kinship. This preponderance of identical surnames is further compounded by the frequency with which identical christian names appear. There are, for example, among the Codroy Valley pioneers, three different Angus McIsaacs, and three different Archibald McIsaacs. To these problems is added a problem of an inadequate coverage in the Register of the actual migration span of approximately twenty years (i.e. the Register does not start until fifteen years after the arrival of the first Scots settler, and is erratic for some time thereafter), and it is therefore not always possible to identify with absolute certainty which Newfoundland family belongs to which Cape Breton family. Thus, for example, we know that Angus McIsaac of Broad Cove married Mary MacDonald, and that their son, John, went to southwestern

Newfoundland, married and had a large family, but we cannot be certain (since they are unnamed in the Cape Breton genealogies) which McIsaacs of the several families of that surname in southwestern Newfoundland are the children of this John McIsaac, unless the oral evidence provides positive identification.

In the case of women, there is yet another problem, since often there is no indication as to whether the Scots custom of retaining the use of a married woman's maiden name is being upheld or not, and the Register does not appear to be consistent in this respect.<sup>7</sup> This is particularly troublesome when attempting to identify pioneer women who only appear in the death register. Thus, Mrs. Mary MacDonald might be Mrs. MacDonald or she might equally be, for example, Mrs. McIsaac née MacDonald, and the only chance of identifying her is if a place of residence is given. Consequently, not all kinship links in the pioneer generation have been established. What is offered in this chapter is a statement of the kin links which have been documented for the Codroy Valley, at least one for every family.

#### I. The Pioneer Stage 1841 - 1870.

All families of couples married before immigration to Newfoundland are regarded as established kin<sup>8</sup> and since most of the pioneers were married on entry into the Codroy Valley, this primarily accounts for the dearth of pioneer marriages shown after settlement there. The problem of "cut-off" for early marriages (i.e. pioneers and their adult children) was resolved by considering all marriages, be they of pioneers (i.e. 1st generation) or their adult children (i.e. 2nd

generation) as belonging to Generation 1/2, and bringing this early grouping of marriages to a close by 1870, after which time marriages are grouped into 2nd or 3rd generation after settlement. The year 1870 was chosen because (a) there occurs a natural break in the marriage records in that year, (b) 1870 gave ten years settlement after the immigration, and (c) 1871 marks the first recorded move inland of the children of pioneers.

Figure 4.3 is the base map for the series of diagrams which is presented in this chapter.<sup>9</sup> It has been constructed so that the position of families relative to their neighbours is maintained, but the figure is areally altered to allow the super-imposition of a matrix, i.e. the base map is topologically accurate, but areally warped. This has been done to allow location of families by grid reference, thereby removing the tedious and confusing repetition of family names. These names are given on the base map only and a number is given each family for future reference.

Figure 4.4 shows the location of pioneer families of the same surname who are known to have been related agnatically for the years 1845-1870.<sup>10</sup> The purpose of the figure is to express spatially the most basic kin relationships of the pioneer era; i.e. agnatic links only are shown. It is apparent that the family centred on Cb1 (grandparent's residence) is the dominant kin group of the pioneer era of Codroy Valley. These are the McIsaacs of Broad Cove and Margaree, whose numerical dominance in the Cape Breton out-migration was discussed in the preceding chapter. All Codroy Valley McIsaacs, except those centred on Dc2, are related, and are included in this kin group; they are reported by their



# Schematic Representation Of Codroy Valley Showing Scots Kin-Network To 1920

- Scots
- Irish
- English
- △ French

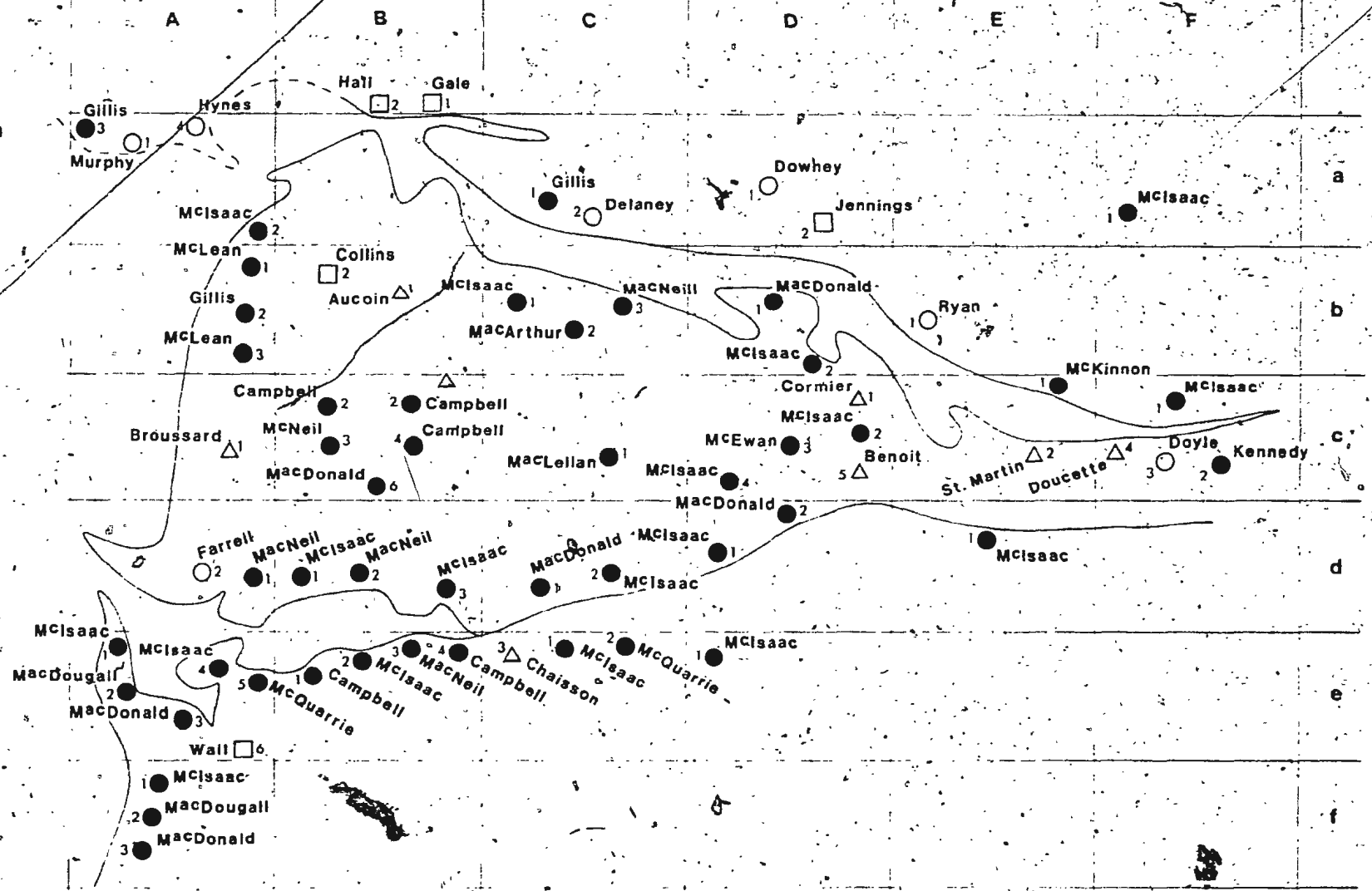


Fig. 4.3

# **Codroy Valley: Agnatic (Same Surname) Kin On Arrival**

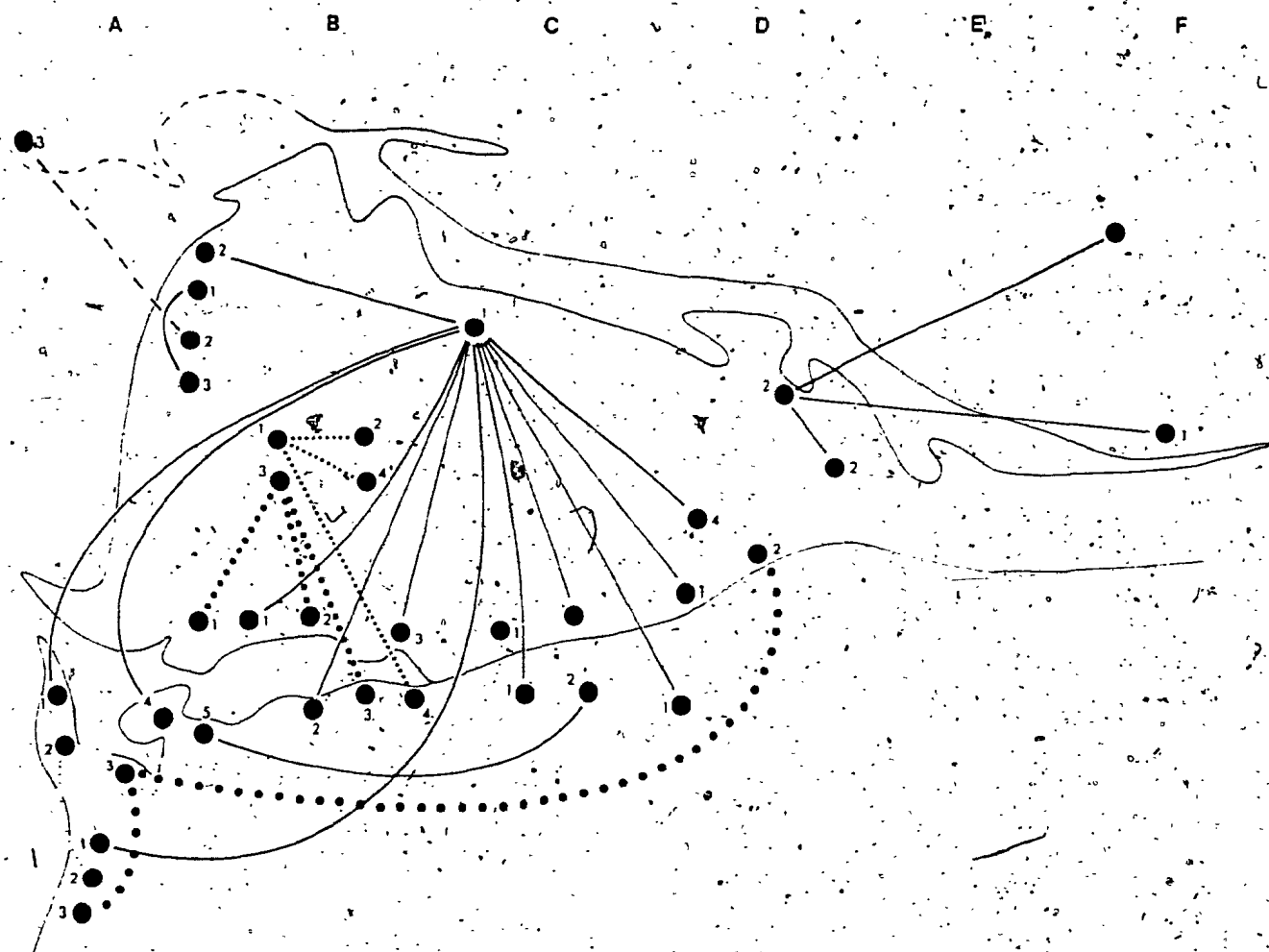


Fig. 4.4

present-day descendants as being among the first to arrive, and as having deliberately spread out all over the Codroy Valley on arrival in order to acquire the best land - a fact borne out by their non-contiguous locations despite early immigration and simultaneous arrival. They retained close ties, expressed in economic cooperation such as joint farming, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

The other spatially extended kin group of Grand River (Dc2) were also McIsaacs, but were not agnatically related to the first group. These immigrated in 1841 and consisted of one extended family, of grandfather, father and adult sons. They occupied those parts of the intervale land of Grand River which had not been appropriated by the French and Irish who had settled in 1839 and 1840.

Other extended kin groups are shown in Figure 4.4, settling along the river banks and inland. Inland locations are not unusual in Codroy Valley because agriculture was the major economic basis for colonization, the river being regarded more as a means of transportation than as a primary source of income, although salmon were caught commercially. The families Aa3 and Ab1 may have settled earlier than the main migration, though no definite date can be established. They acquired shore lots, and seem to have operated an economy more dependent on salmon fishing than farming, though both were practised commercially.

In Figure 4.4, three main areal groupings of families can be distinguished: 1. Dc2 (McIsaac) 2. Cb1 (McIsaac) 3. Aa3 and Ab1 (Gillis and McLean). Within the central areal grouping (Cb1) there are several smaller kin groups. The three areal groupings are territorially discrete and reflect the three separate locations in the Codroy Valley - the

coast, with an economy which emphasized fishing, and the two river valleys with their agriculturally-focused economies, based on fertile intervalle land in Grand River (Dc2) and Little River (relatives of Cb1).

Figure 4.5 shows the complete agnatic and affinal ties available for the pioneer generation.<sup>11</sup> Not all links to all members of extended families have been shown, as the picture would then be visually confusing. Instead, links have been drawn to one member of an extended group to which a family is kin. The three main areal groupings remain generally discrete, but affinal connections have been established, as in the case of Cb2 which links Dc2 to the central network. First marriage links to Cape Breton Scots settlements in St. George's Bay are shown here, and very few inter-ethnic marriages have occurred. The families which were agnatically unrelated in Figure 4.4 are now seen to have been, in fact, affinal components of the in-migrating kingroups, excepting families Ec and Dc3. These are the only two nuclear Scots families in the study area who have no relatives. Both are noted today among the local people as eccentric, in that their lack of kinship links on immigration was regarded as unusual.

Figure 4.6 shows the marriages which occurred after immigration up to 1870. There were only seventeen in all, mainly because marriages seem to have occurred, for the most part, prior to immigration. As was the case with pre-migration marriages, further links are now formed between the agnatically discrete groups based on Cb1 and Dc2. The coastal groups remain aloof. These families were fishermen and did not integrate to any great extent with the agricultural Scots of the Codroy Valley.<sup>12</sup> Their links, both social and economic, were forged in the

# Codroy Valley: Cognatic Kin And Pre-Migration Marriage Links On Arrival

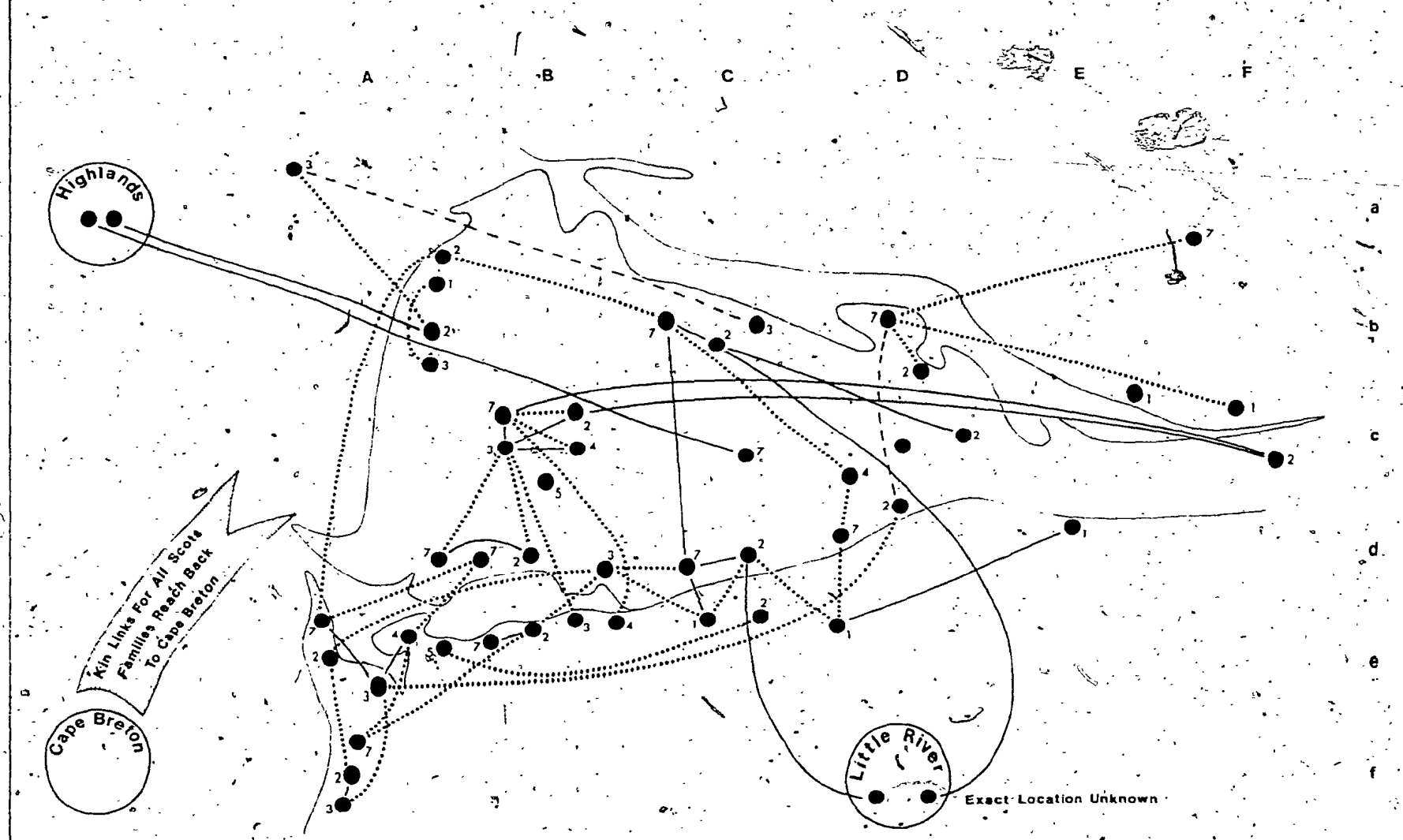


Fig. 4.5

# Scots Marriages: Codroy Valley 1845-1870

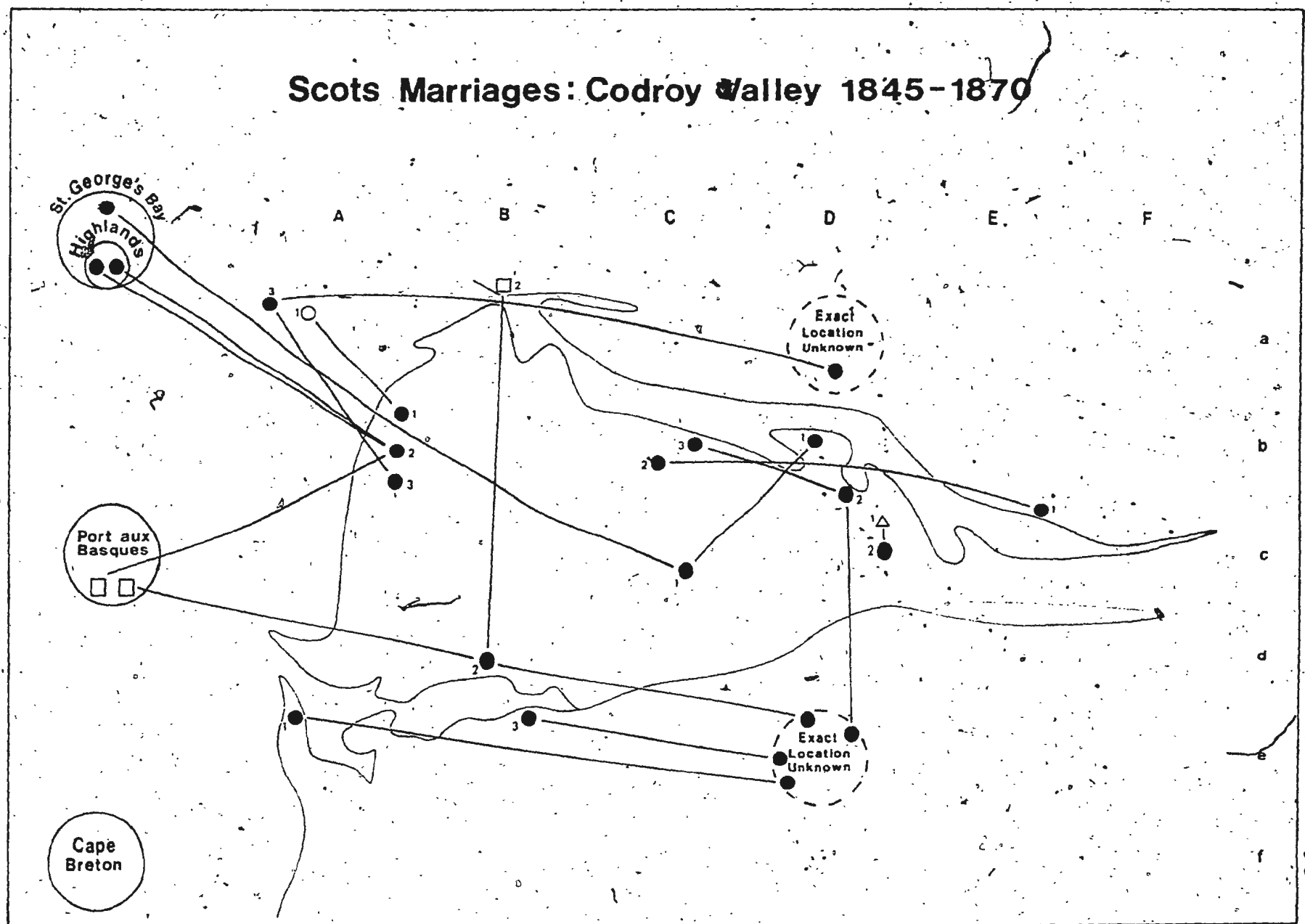


Fig. 4.6

direction of the St. George's Bay communities of fisher-farmers.

Finally, the preponderance of Scots/Scots marriage is clear.

The figures are:

Scots/Scots	12
Scots/English	3
Scots/French	1
Scots/Irish	1
	—
Total No. marriages	17

Figures 4.4 to 4.6 show pioneer Codroy Valley to have been an extension of the Broad Cove/Margaree situation of concentration of kin from the same general Cape Breton source area, who were themselves a concentration of kin from the same general Scottish source area of Clanranald territory in the western Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Settlement took place in such a manner that the spatial pattern of kin networks reflected the three different settlement locations of the area; kinship patterns at immigration were already those of a well-established network.

## II. Affinal Links in the Pioneer Era - Family Cb2.

Because of the developed and complex nature of the pioneer kin network, a case study of one particular family is offered to illustrate, in some detail, the actual mechanisms which were operating to produce

the patterns discussed above. The family chosen is that at Cb2, although any family in the area would suffice. However, this family acted as a "pivot" through which the two unrelated McIsaac kin groups were

linked. Cb2 is therefore related to many of the Scots families in the area either agnatically or affinally (Figure 4.7).

Three of the six households involved are from Morar and Moidart in Scotland, within fifteen miles of one another, while the fourth is from an Island (Canna) just offshore. The source area in Scotland of Db1 is not clear. The Little River McIsaacs are predominantly from the same Scottish source area as the first three families, but this information is not available for all Little River McIsaac families. Family Bel was from Barra, in the Outer Hebrides. Affinal links stem from Db1 whose ancestors were socially important in the traditional Scots kin system.

The Gulf of St. Lawrence source areas are restricted to Broad Cove and Margaree, except for Db1. This family was socially important in the New World - the descendants of "Loddy" MacDonald, of Antigonish, a landlord of Broad Cove and Margaree, whose family married into families of that area. This case study also shows that the links existing at time of immigration continue to operate, both across the study area to Little River and also locally to near-neighbours (Cb2 is near-neighbour to Cb1 and Dc1). There is also one link to St. George's Bay. Family Cb2 illustrates the cognatic links and restricted Scottish and Cape Breton source areas which are the norm of pioneer kin networks in Codroy Valley.

Figure 4.8 shows the marriages of this family group in the pioneer generation, and how the connection between the two areally discrete McIsaac kin groups was established. Family Cb2 operated as the link family for these two unrelated groups, thus:

Group 2  $\xleftarrow{\text{distant affinal kin}}$  Cb2  $\xleftarrow{\text{affinal second cousins}}$  Group 1



# MacArthur Family: Cognatic Kin On Arrival

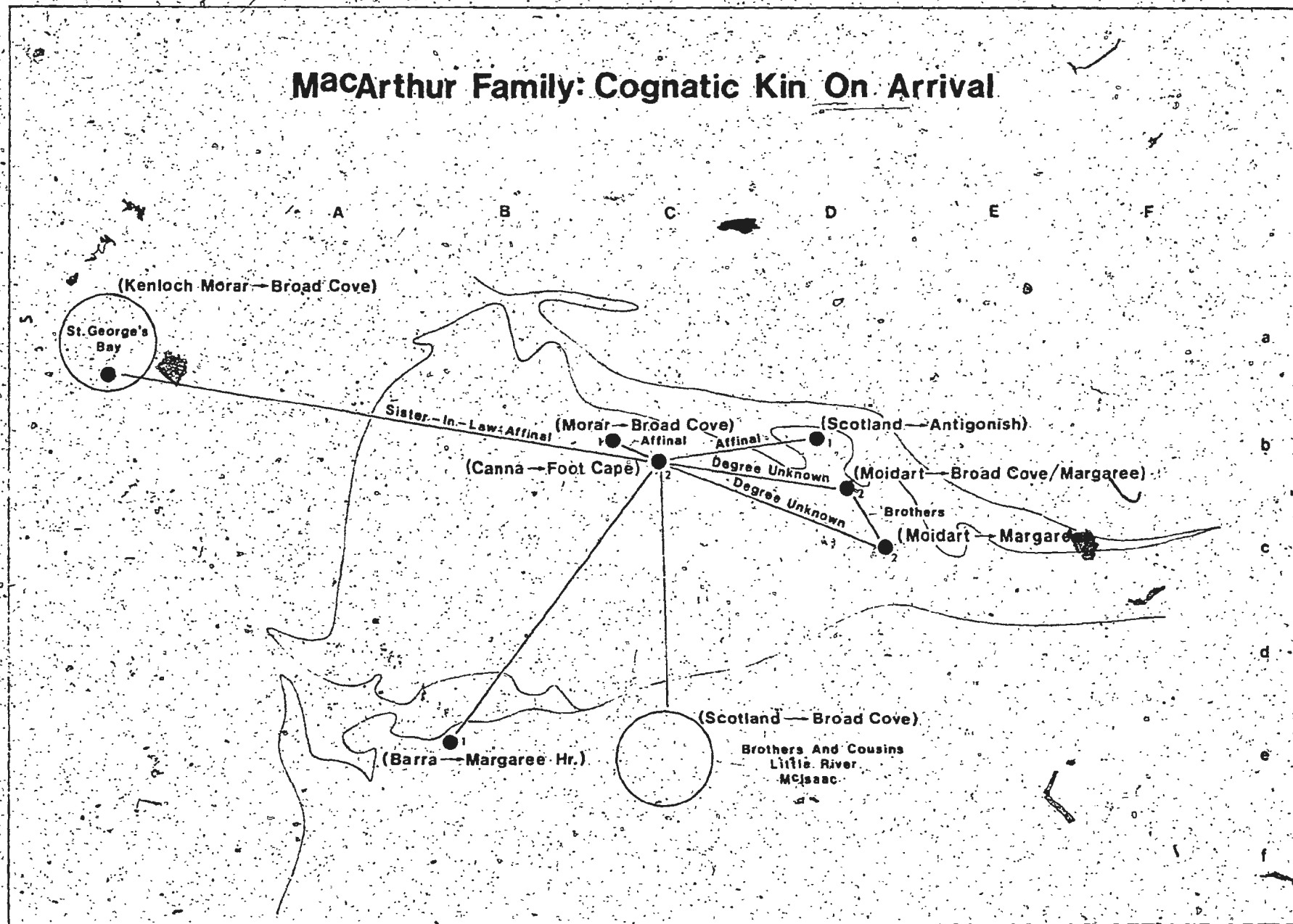


Fig. 4.7

# MacArthur Kingroup: Marriages 1845-1870

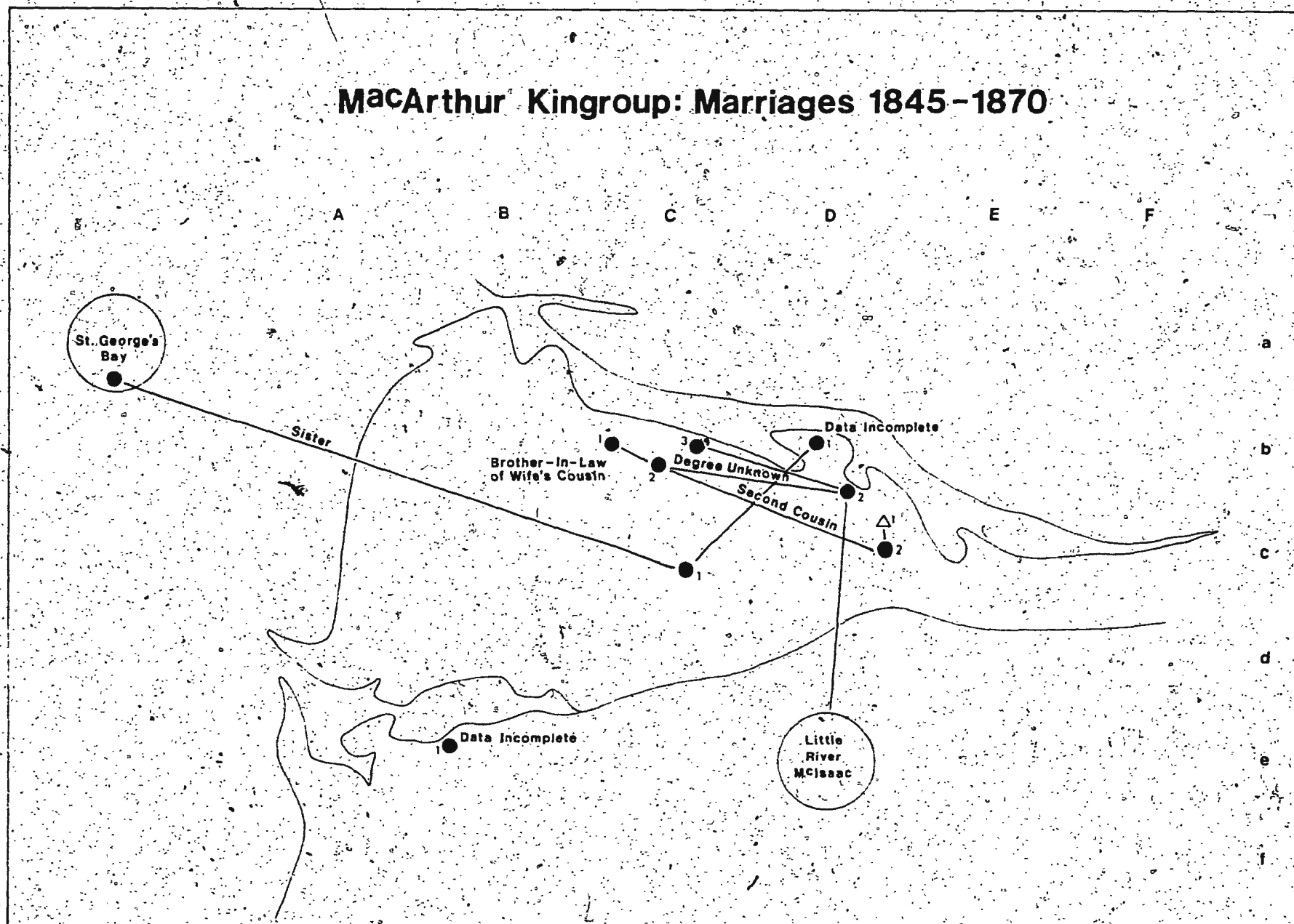
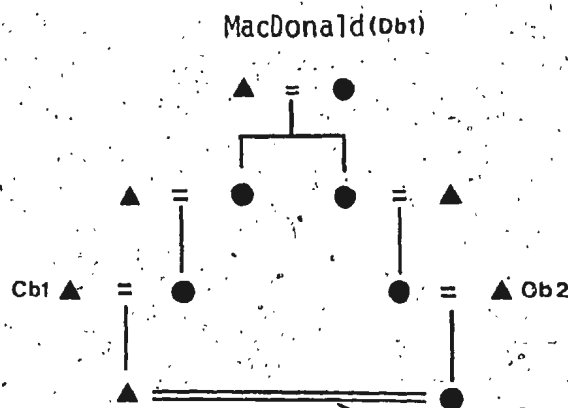


Fig. 4.8

The first inter-ethnic marriage within Codroy Valley occurred between Dc2 and Dc1. They had previous social contacts in Margaree, Cape Breton and arrived in Grand River within a year of one another (1840-1841). The most outstanding feature of this case study, however, is the critical role played in the maintenance and development of kinship ties by affinal links. Although there is insufficient knowledge of the implications and importance of these links for traditional Highland Scots culture, the fact that these relationships are remembered by present-day descendants would suggest that they are in fact important. In genealogical form, the nature of the kin marriage between Cb1 and Cb2 is:



In this example, affinal second cousin marriage occurs, reaffirming the affinal links existing already between the two families, as their grandmothers were sisters.

One last feature of the kin patterns of this family which echoes the gross patterns of Figures 4.4 to 4.6 is the process of including unrelated families into the kin group.

### III. Second Generation Kinship Patterns 1871 - 1895.

The kin "pool" for the second generation of Codroy Valley Scots comprised those who were "kin on arrival", together with those families who had been introduced into existing groups by marriage (i.e. Figure 4.5 plus 4.6). The resultant network tied together much of the area and reinforced local kinship ties. Figure 4.9 shows the marriages of the second generation (1871-1895), sixty-four in all. The basic features of the first generation marriages are repeated here; these were marriages across the area, and reinforcement of local kin ties, but three points should be noted in particular. Firstly, the linking of family Aa3 (coastal) to the Grand River kin group, providing an end to the total separation of coast and river social groups. Inter-ethnic marriages are involved in this link, and family Aa3 also married out of the area into Highlands, St. George's Bay. Secondly, there is an increase in the number of inter-ethnic marriages occurring in this generation within the Codroy Valley, from five in Generation 1/2 to ten in Generation 2. Seen as a proportion of all marriages, however, the figure drops from 28% in Generation 1/2 to 15% in Generation 2. These figures indicate that there was a preference operating among the Scots for marriage within their own ethnic group, while at the same time more non-Scots families (in terms of real numbers) were being absorbed into the Scots kin groups in the Codroy Valley. The latter would suggest that the range of choice for Scots marriage partners was being restricted by the complex kin base already developed in the pioneer generation. The distribution of these inter-ethnic marriages is:

# Scots Marriages: Codroy Valley 1871-1895

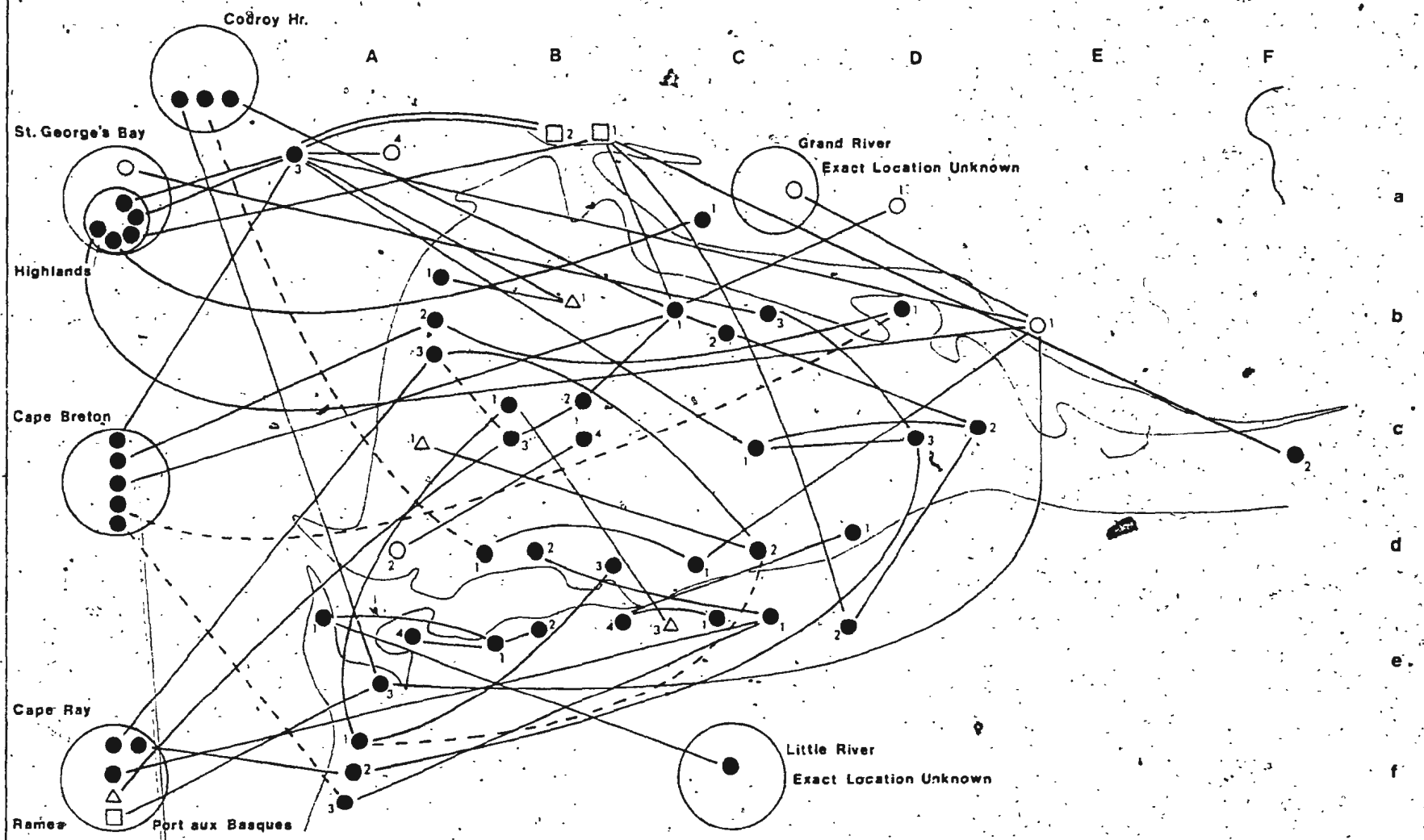


Fig. 4.9

Scots/Scots	54
Scots/French	3
Scots/Irish	5
Scots/English	2
	<hr/>
Total No. marriages	64

In Generation 1/2, the English had been the most favoured non-Scots group; in Generation 2 the Irish are preferred. This may be a result of limitation of choice, but the number involved is small and of no great significance.

Thirdly, the marriages by Codroy Valley Scots outside the area increase. Again, real numbers and percentages appear to conflict; outmarriage in Generation 1/2 is five marriages, and in Generation 2 is twenty-one marriages; percentages go from 28 to 33. These figures, however, represent the minimum number of outmarriages, as several women married back into Cape Breton families, and real numbers in this case are probably more significant, since it is known that a number of these marriages resulted in outmigration and a loss of young population.

Finally, it should be noted that, apart from moves inland as a result of an expansion of farmland and a decline of the local fishery, the settlement pattern does not change. Inheritance is essentially patrilineal, but with women occasionally inheriting, as in the case of Bc4. Farms were usually subdivided amongst all sons requiring land (surveying occurs at this time, and line fences are erected), but extended families continue joint farming operations.

Marriage patterns for the second generation, then, result in a social integration of the initial three areally discrete kin groupings. There is also an increase in the actual number of inter-ethnic marriages combined with a clear preference for marriage within the Scots system. An increasing outmarriage pattern mainly focussed on Cape Breton or other Scots southwestern Newfoundland families can also be seen. Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8 combine to show the kin base for the second generation of the kin group Cb2. Figure 4.10 shows their second generation marriages.

Family Cb2 echoes the patterns that have been shown for the study area as a whole: near kin marriage (Cb2 to Dc1) occurs to strengthen the local kin base, other ethnic groups are incorporated, and marriage out from the area also occurs.

#### IV. Third Generation Kinship Patterns, 1896 - 1920.

The kin pool for the third generation comprised second generation kin plus the marriages of the second generation. The kinship network is highly complex, covering the whole study area and incorporating a number of families of other ethnic groups. South Branch was established in the 1890's, mainly by Grand River families, and it received a continuous influx of population until about 1920. This settlement is at the head of the Codroy Valley, well inland, on good intervale land. It had been farmed for at least thirty years before being permanently occupied, and had served as a camp for logging, trapping and river fishing activities.

Figure 4.11 shows the marriage links of the third generation.

The most striking feature is the drop in number of marriages from

# MacArthur Kinggroup: Marriages 1871-1895

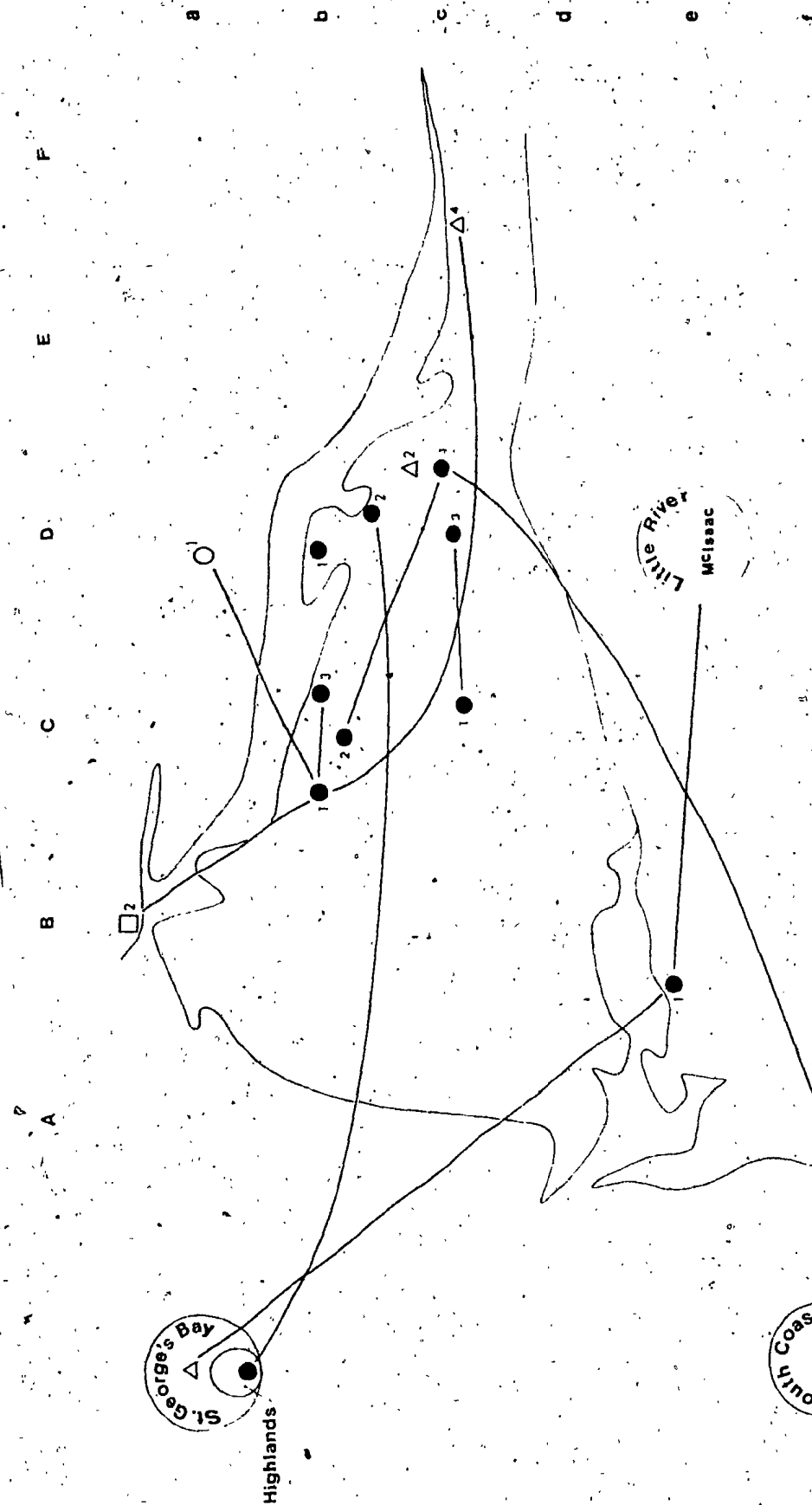


Fig. 4.10



# Scots Marriages: Codroy Valley 1896-1920

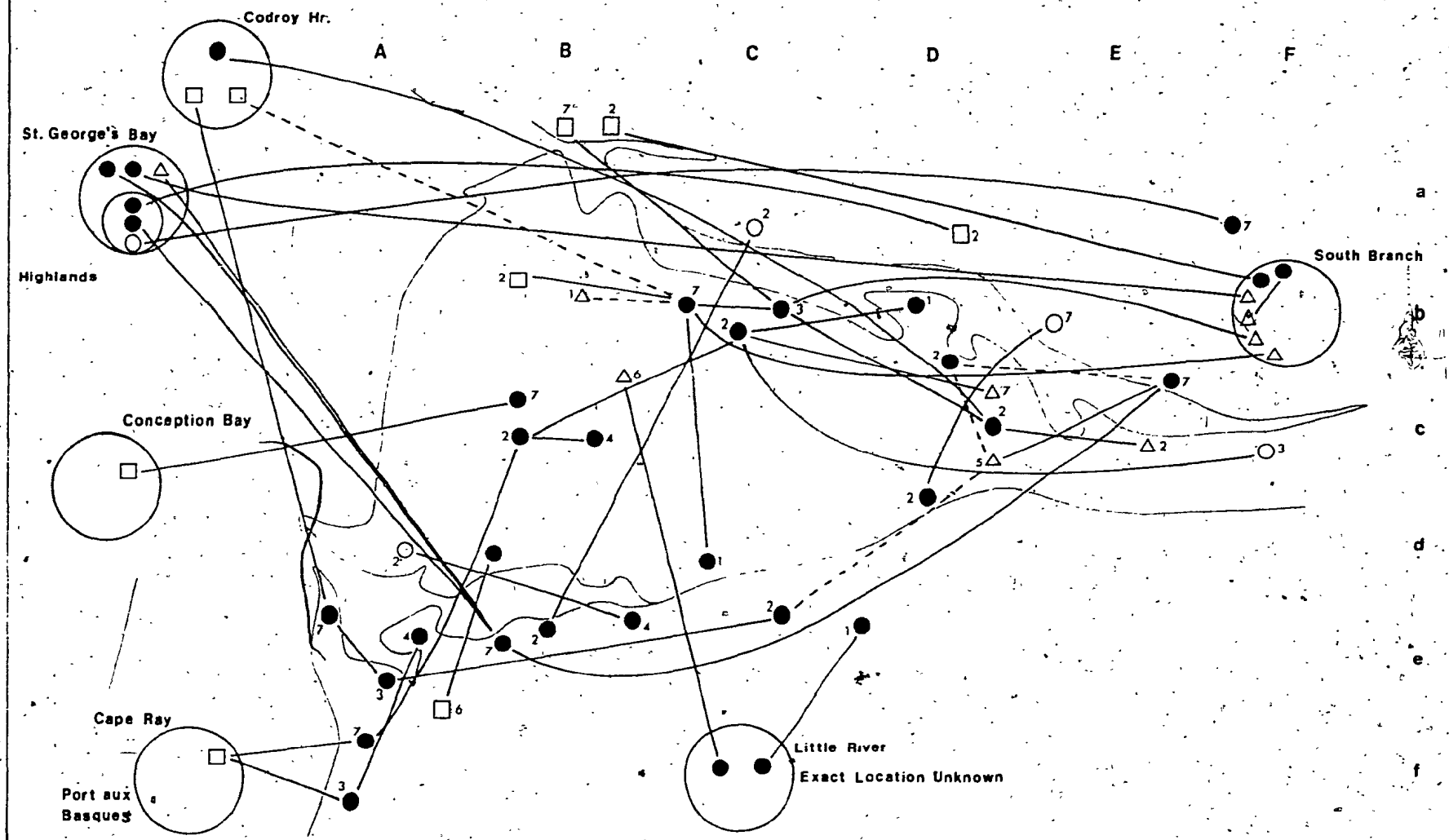


Fig. 4.11

the second generation (sixty-four to forty-three), the reverse of what might normally be expected. An analysis of Newfoundland census data for the years 1901, 1911 and 1921 reveals a related drop in population, which occurs mainly within the child and young-adult age groups.<sup>13</sup> Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 show the statistics extracted from the relevant Censuses. Grand River lost 56% of its population in 1901-11, and 42% of the remaining population in 1911-1921, and received virtually no in-migration. Highlands lost population at a lesser but still substantial rate, and showed a similar lack of in-migration: Little River lost fewer, with a partial readjustment from in-migration in 1901-1911. South Branch suffered no losses in its first decade, but by the second decade of settlement out-migration exceeded the volume of in-migration.

It is to be noted that the "theoretical loss" figures<sup>14</sup> indicate a significantly higher percentage loss than the net loss figures obtained by straightforward cohort analysis, and it is proposed that the drop in Scots marriages from the second to the third generation can almost certainly be accounted for by the loss of young adults in the marriageable age group. These moved to the United States (especially Boston and Gloucester), to St. George's Bay or elsewhere in Newfoundland, and a large number to Sydney, Nova Scotia or back to Inverness County, Cape Breton.<sup>15</sup>

One feature of Figure 4.11 is the lack of marriages outward to Cape Breton, compared to the second generation. It would appear to have been from these second generation, Cape Breton marriage families that out-migration occurs in the third generation. Mention of these

TABLE 4.1

## Age/Sex Specific

Net Population Loss in Codroy Valley: 1901-1911, 1911-1921

(derived from cohort analysis of census data)

GRAND RIVER

	1901-1911		1911-1921	
	M	F	M	F
10-19	46	56	20	9
20-29	35	48	35	18
30-39	33	27	22	18
40-49	15	10	8	5
50-59	7	10	1	3
60-69	8	7	2	2
70-79	7	1	7	2
80 and over	4	4	7	7
Total Loss	155	163	102	64
Net Loss (Total Population)	46%		34%	

LITTLE RIVER

	1901-1911		1911-1921	
	M	F	M	F
10-19	5	5	-	3
20-29	18	20	-	27
30-39	7	13	10	1
40-49	1	-	-	-
50-59	-	2	3	9
60-69	4	3	2	-
70-79	8	2	5	2
80 and over	-	-	-	1
Total Loss	43	45	20	43
Net Loss (Total Population)	29%		20%	

TABLE 4.2

## Population Loss: Gain -- Southwestern Newfoundland

% of Population lost from Total Population  
Depletion Figures (cohort analysis): 14-40  
age Group.  
(This group represents labour force and  
marriageable women.)

	1901-11	1911-21
Highlands	33.4%	34.8%
Grand Codroy	38.7%	36.4%
Little River	38.6%	32.3%
South Branch	---	37.2%

(Newfoundland Census Data:  
1901, 11, 21)

## % Population Created by Theoretical Immigration

	1901-11	1911-21
Highlands	3.0%	---
Grand Codroy	0.5%	---
Little Codroy	15.0%	2.0%
South Branch	77.0%	9.4%

TABLE 4.3

Theoretical Population Loss: Theoretical Immigration: Codroy Valley

	1901-11		1911-21	
	Theor. Pop. Loss	Theor. Immig.	Theor. Pop. Loss	Theor. Immig.
Grand River	56%	5%	42%	
Little River	38%	15%	26%	2%
Highlands	40%	3%	51%	
South Branch	-	77%	19%	9%

Theoretical Loss: Net Loss

	1901-11		1911-21	
	Theoretical Loss	Net Loss	Theoretical Loss	Net Loss
Grand. River	56%	46%	42%	34%
Little River	38%	29%	26%	20%

families ceases in the Register and is not accounted for by deaths.

Oral evidence substantiates a move back into the main Gulf area. Other marriages out from the Codroy Valley in the third generation are restricted to nearby south coast settlements; St. George's Bay (Scots and Irish) marriages are really an extension of the Codroy Valley kin network by this time. Two marriage links which have persisted throughout the first and second generations can be seen again in Figure 4.11. The continuance of links between Little and Grand River, and the reinforcement of local linkages is apparent. In Little River this mainly takes the form of a reassertion of kin marriages between families now sufficiently removed to re-commence intermarriage. In Grand River, the pattern extends itself into other ethnic groups.

As a direct result of the restricted range of choice which would be a consequence of a depleted Scots population, the number of inter-ethnic marriages in this generation is considerably higher than in the preceding generations. The figures are:

Scots/Scots	21	49%
Scots/French	10	23%
Scots/Irish	6	14%
Scots/English	6	14%
Total No. marriages	43	100%

In many cases these involve families who have already been introduced into the kin pool in previous generations, though there are also new additions in all ethnic groups. The percentage of new ethnic additions is as follows:

Scots/French	17%
Scots/Irish	10%
Scots/English	10%

Much of the "French" emphasis of the third generation results from intermarriage which occurred within South Branch, where the population was entirely French and Scots. However, each generation emphasised a different ethnic group: English in Generation 1/2, Irish in Generation 2 and French in Generation 3. The numbers are probably too few to indicate an order of preference; what is significant is the continued preference for Scots/Scots marriage.

The base map (Figure 4.3) for this series of kin and marriage diagrams showed the number of Codroy Valley families of other ethnic groups who have married Scots by the end of the third generation.

The final totals are:

French	11 families
Irish	6 families
English	5 families
Total No. families	22

It should also be remembered that inter-ethnic marriage took place outside the Codroy Valley, but these families have not been included in the above table which relates only to Figure 4.3. The predominance of French as shown above would appear to be a result of the total numbers of other ethnic groups living in the area - the French were numerically dominant over Irish and English (see Chapter II).

This increase in inter-ethnic marriages in the Codroy Valley in the third generation warrants closer scrutiny. Table 4.4 shows a breakdown of these marriages for the period 1906-1925, the time period in which the increase becomes most marked. It can be seen that while the total proportion of Scots/Scots marriages for the whole of the third generation is 49%, in fact there is a significant decrease in the years immediately following the First World War; 1 Scots/Scots marriage as against 18 Scots/Others. In later years (1926-1936) there are only three Scots/Scots marriages in the Codroy Valley. Further, it is the immediate post-war period which shows a levelling-off in the earlier third generation predominance of Scots/French marriages, which had its counterpart in earlier generations of English and Irish predominance.

While reasons for this decline in ethnic bias in marriage cannot be ascertained without more detailed research, it is suggested that the figures indicate the cessation of ethnic preference and the disappearance of the social pressures behind such preferences. The closing years of the third generation in Codroy Valley saw the dissolution of the Scottish kin system which had survived emigration from Scotland through Cape Breton to Newfoundland. In the early generations, Scots/Scots marriages were statistically highly favoured, but by the end of the second generation three factors emerge which account at least in part for this post-war integration. First is the second generation out-marriage and out-migration discussed earlier, resulting in a restricted range of marriage choice; second is the intricate network of kin which had been developed by the end of the second generation, and which would also restrict range of marriage



TABLE 4.4

Ethnic Group Marriage: 1906-1925  
(Parish Register of Searston)

Year	Date	Scots/Scots	Total No. Scots Marriages	Scots/French	Scots/Irish	Scots/English
1-8	1906-1913	42.8% (9)	21	22.8% (5)	9.5% (2)	22.8% (5)
9-13	World War I 1914-1918	36.8% (7)	19	36.8% (7)	5.2% (1)	21.0% (4)
14-20	1919-1925	5.2% (1)	19	31.5% (6)	31.5% (6)	31.5% (6)

( ) actual number of marriages.

choice;<sup>16</sup> third is the possible loss to the area of young men of marriageable age, drawn away by World War I, by the building of a mill at Corner Brook and by the mines at Aguathuna, Port au Port.

#### V. Affinal Links in the Third Generation - Family Cb2.

While the kin patterns of Codroy Valley generally began to disintegrate in the third generation, there were examples of persistence of the traditional system among individual families. Family Cb2 presents the most striking example of continued kin marriage in third generation Codroy Valley (see Figure 4.16). The nature of the kin marriages of all three generations of this family illustrates the importance of affinal links. Figure 4.17 is the genealogy of the extended Family Cb2 as stated by Ego, verified in the Searston Register and by other informants. It provides the basis for all kin maps of the family. From this genealogy, it can be seen that many of the kin links are established and maintained affinally, and that what might otherwise appear as being totally ~~exogamous marriages~~ are, in fact, affinally endogamous. What is perhaps most critical is that these affinal relationships, which stretch back over at least three generations, and which certainly are maintained throughout the period of migration, are known today and recognised. Thus Ego stated that she and her husband were kin, because "our grandmothers were sisters".<sup>17</sup>

In terms of the source areas of these families in Scotland, they were all from Clanranald territory (see Figure 4.5). Db1 has incomplete data, but oral evidence places them in Morar, and all surnames involved were common to these districts.<sup>18</sup> It is interesting

# MacArthur Kingroup: Marriages 1896-1920

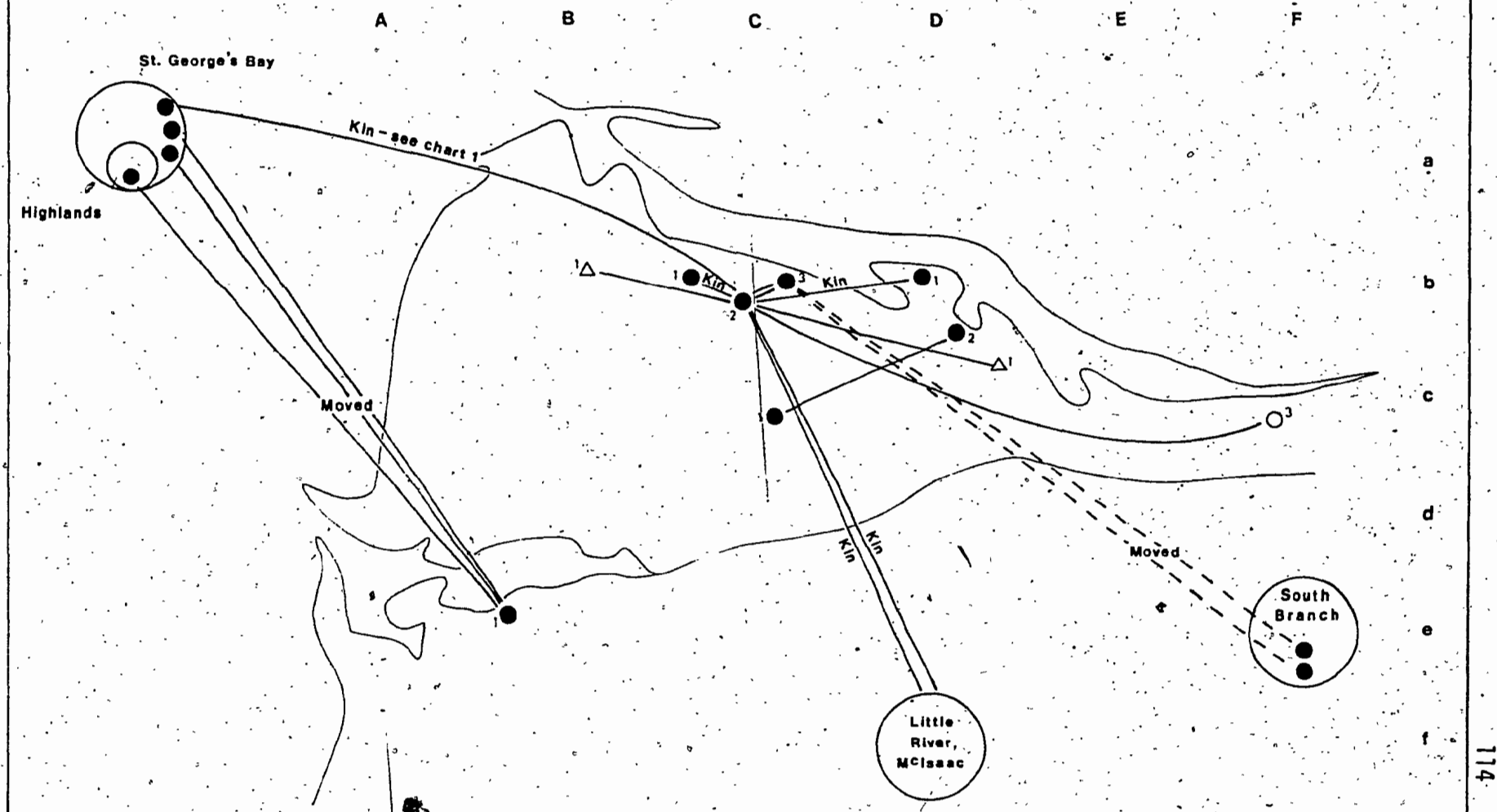


Fig. 4.12.

# Cognatic Kin Group Cb2

The diagram illustrates the cognatic kinship of Group Cb2, organized by region:

- SCOTLAND:** Includes Gb1 (Morar), Cb2 (Canna), Db1 ("Scotland"), (Kenloch Morar Related to Cb1), Db2, Dc2 ("Mointeach" Morar/Moidart), and Be1 (Barra).
- ANTIGONISH:** A horizontal line separating the Scottish region from the others.
- CAPE BRETON:** Includes (Margaree), Foot Cape NFLD, (Possibly related to Cb1 Cape Breton (Broad Cove) to St. Georges Bay), CC, Margaree, and Margaree HBR.
- CODROY VALLEY:** Includes French Sold, English, Irish, C, Az, Ay, and Others.

Key features and relationships shown:

- Endogamous marriages:** Indicated by a triangle inside a circle (e.g., Gb1, Cb2, Db1, Be1, C).
- Affinal kin links:** Represented by double-headed arrows (e.g., between Dx and Bx, and between Ay and others).
- Family movements:** Notes include "Family moved to U.S.A." and "French Sold English Irish".
- Specific individuals and groups:** Labeled include R.E.I., Bz, D, Bx, B, Ax, Bx, C, Az, Ay, Cx, and others.
- Notes:** "Missing Generation" and "husband of this family - wives are sisters" are noted.

Legend:

- $\triangle = \bigcirc$  Endogamous marriage
- $\longleftrightarrow$  Affinal kin links

115

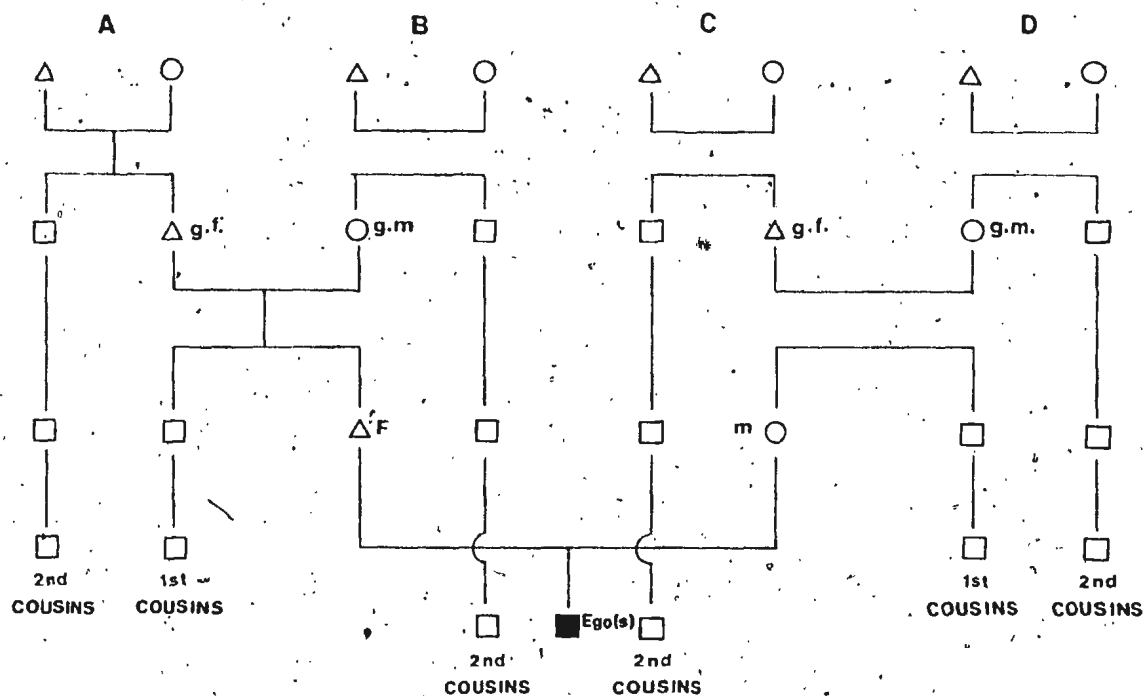
to note that the family from which initial affinal links stem is the same family - whose surname was that of Clanranald, and who were landlords in the Broad Cove area of Cape Breton. Family tradition dates their arrival in Antigonish as being 1774, very early in the immigration period, and tells of their being long-settled and prosperous at the time of the Broad Cove/Margaree immigrations. They are reputed to have assisted many of these Broad Cove families in the early pioneer years.<sup>19</sup> This tradition supports the oral genealogical evidence to the effect that this MacDonald family was locally important in Morar, probably tacksmen in the area (the early date of immigration would support this) and would fit the kinship pattern that evolved, in terms of local Scottish kin, in Cape Breton and Codroy Valley.

Indeed, awareness of affinal links in the Cape Breton/Codroy Valley kinship system raises a question of one facet of Scots kinship which has so far remained unresearched. Macpherson, in his studies of social structure in Laggan,<sup>20</sup> has noted the importance of both endogamous and exogamous marriage links for the local clan system. Clan endogamy (agnatic group) reinforced the cohesion of the clan where the group was becoming divergent, while still remaining within the system. Clan exogamy provided "new blood" for the group as a whole.

Fox,<sup>21</sup> in his discussion of cognatic descent, discusses very briefly the Scottish clan as a type of cognatic descent group, noting however a "strong preference for endogamy and patrilocal residence" and a "strong patrilineal tinge" to the descent pattern. While Fox does not demonstrate satisfactorily the importance of affinal kin in the Scottish clan, the patterns which are shown in Figure 4.17 suggest that

such links are an important part of the system. Indeed, in the Codroy Valley as a whole, and certainly among the kin group shown in Figure 4.17 they would appear to be critical.

Fox also mentions in his discussion of cognatic descent groups, the two distinctions made by Goodenough in methods of focussing on kin groups. These he calls "ancestor-focus" and "ego-focus". Ancestor-focus implies that the group concerned has an ancestor in common - and this is true of the Scottish clans, whose eponymous ancestor-focus is usually regarded agnatically (see Chapter II). Ego-focus implies a group which has not an ancestor, but one living person (Ego) in common. Fox offers the following diagram to illustrate the point (after Fox):



However, Figure 4.17 shows such a group with the subtle variation that kinship links occur between the groups affinally in the generations ancestral to ego [i.e. (D) and (Dx) are sisters], and similar affinal ties are generated in other families shown, and in succeeding generations.

This would mean that the Codroy Valley Scots operated a kinship system with agnatic ancestral ties extending over many generations and also with affinal ties operating over three generations or more. Should the Codroy Valley Scots have been operating a (clann) kin system, based on the old traditional clan system - and there is evidence that this system was carried to Broad Cove and Margaree - then it is possible that a future examination of the Scottish clans' exogamous marriage pattern would reveal, concealed within it, a pattern of affinal endogamy which has, so far remained undetected.

What is certain is that the Scots who came to the Codroy Valley in the mid-Nineteenth Century preserved kinship links formed in Scotland and in Cape Breton. These kinship links not only influenced initial settlement and were expressed in the early settlement pattern, but continued to operate until the 1920's, at which time - more than 100 years after emigration from Scotland - assimilation and integration occurred. This was due to a reduced pool from which Scots marriage partners could be selected, and from which they could continue to operate a localised kinship system in the Highland Scots tradition.

#### NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1. Searston Parish Register (1860-1925). Mss. in Priest's residence, St. Ann's Parish, Searston, Codroy Valley.  
The Register covers Catholic families on the coast from Codroy to Channel (with rare entries from as far as Rose Blanche), and the Valleys of the Grand and Little Rivers, Codroy.
2. E.A. Wrigley, ed., An Introduction to Historical Demography, Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Publication No. 1 (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), p. 96.  
Wrigley continues: "to enable its chief demographic characteristics to be described as fully as possible." This study, however, concentrates only upon kinship.
3. Eversley, in Wrigley (ed.), op. cit., p. 14.
4. A.G. Macpherson, "An Old Highland Parish Register" I and II. Scottish Studies, 11, 1967; 12, 1968.
5. The early Register was compiled from notes jotted down by the missionary priest as he went about his duties, and entered at a later date into either the Searston or St. George's Register. Many vital data were never entered, but some of these omissions were later rectified by entries taken from family Bibles, or by information supplied by a witness to the occasion.
6. Problems of this nature would have been more readily solved had the parish records of Inverness County, Cape Breton, been available for consultation.
7. Macpherson, op. cit., I, p. 152.  
"... the mother's full maiden name ... being the name by which, following old Scottish legal and popular practice, she continued to be known in the parish after marriage."
8. All "kin" are blood relatives. Therefore, it is the children of a couple who are kin to both their parents' families: the marriages of one generation form the kin base of the next generation.
9. Information included on this map comes from cadastral surveys of the area.
10. This figure, like all figures of the series in this chapter, represents an aggregate picture of data and material derived from three sources: 1. MacDougall's 'History' from which genealogies were constructed for some pioneer Codroy Valley families; 2. oral evidence; 3. the Searston Parish Register in which sporadic references to degrees of consanguinity are found.



11. The circles indicate those families not represented on cadastral surveys, whose exact location cannot therefore be pinpointed beyond the three distinct areas described earlier.
12. There may have been a traditional Scots "blocking pattern" operating to discourage marriage between the McIsaacs and the Gillis family. This is discussed in Chapter V.
13. These figures require comment - See Appendix Two.
14. See Appendix Two.
15. These were both moves to take advantage of employment opportunities offered in the mines at Sydney and Inverness.
16. The exact calculation of the kin base of the third generation in Codroy Valley is a marathon task, best done by computer. It is beyond the scope of this present study to assess accurately the precise range of marriage choice available to the third generation, although such figures would prove invaluable.
17. Verbatim: Mrs. Harriet MacArthur. August 1971.
18. Even "MacLellan" is first entered in the Searston Register as "McEallan" - a Clanranald surname.
19. M.B. Knight, personal communication, December 1972.
20. Macpherson, op. cit., I and II.
21. R. Fox, Kinship and Marriage (Pelican Anthropology Library, 1967), pp. 156-165.

## CHAPTER V

### KINSHIP, SECONDARY MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT:

#### ST. GEORGE'S BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND

##### I. Highlands, St. George's Bay.

The Scots first settled in Highlands, southwestern Newfoundland sometime after 1838 and before 1850,<sup>1</sup> at about the same time as initial Codroy Valley settlement was taking place.

Figures 5.1 to 5.6 have been constructed to show the kinship and marriage links of the people of Highlands up to the end of the second generation. Figure 5.1 provides the genealogies and locations of individual families; thus Family 1 occupied Lot 1 (the most southerly lot) and Family 16 occupied Lot 16 (the most northerly). Each genealogy is constructed within the column which is equivalent to lots on the land, and links between these families indicate relationships which are spatial as well as social.<sup>2</sup> Figures 5.2 to 5.6 should be seen in relation to Figure 5.1 since they map the kinship connections so that their spatial expression is apparent. One important fact which emerges from Figure 5.1 is the high incidence of the same source area for these families, both in Cape Breton (Judique) and in Scotland (Morar). In Judique, as in Broad Cove/Margaree, Morar and Eigg were commonplace Scottish source areas, - and Gillis and McIsaac were common surnames, as they are in southwestern Newfoundland.

# Kin Relationships - Highlands

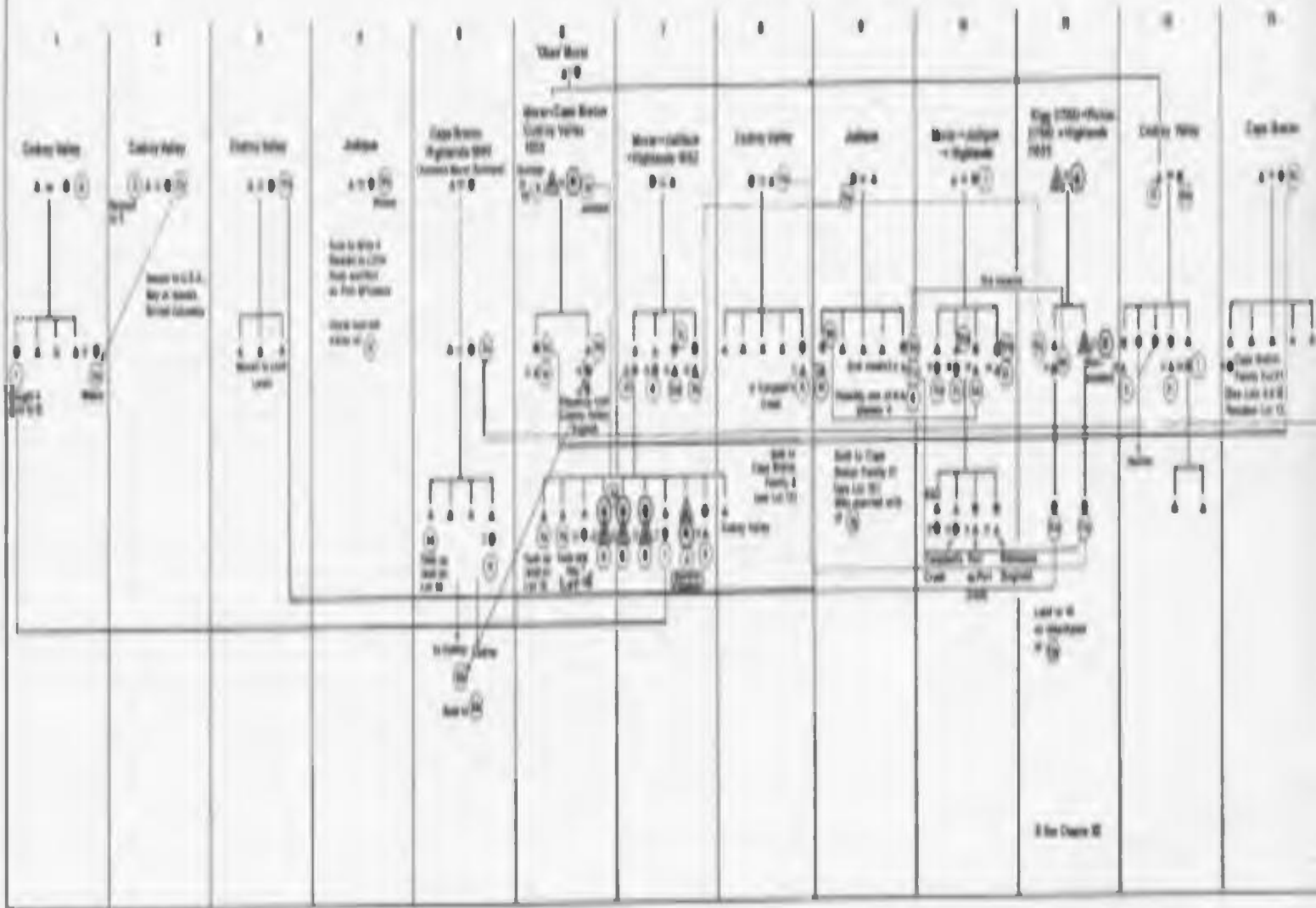
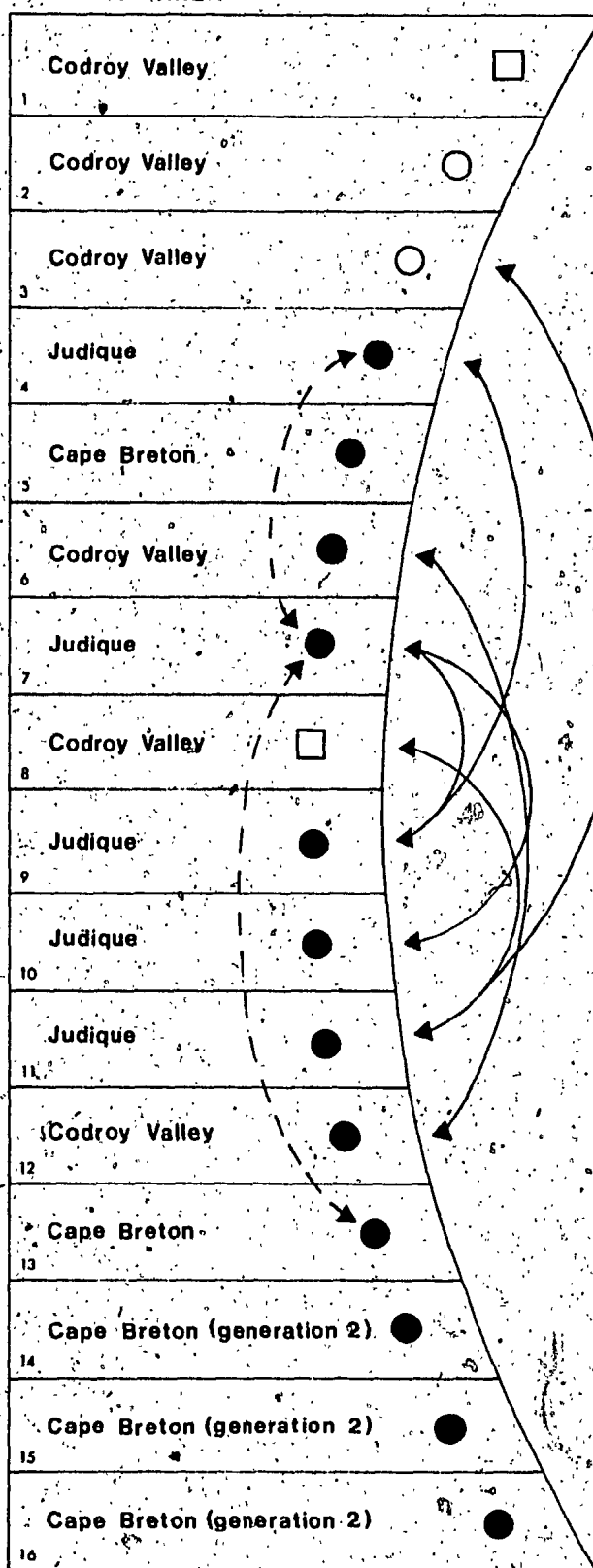


Fig. 5.1



# Highlands: Kin Links On Immigration

## SOURCE AREA



□ English  
○ Irish  
● Scottish

Fig. 5.2

## WADSETLANDS OF KINLOCHMOYDART IN MORAR: PARISH OF GLENELG

Pennyland of Clathaig	Halfpennyland of Torrerie
Donald McDonell	John Gillies Ground Officer
Rory McDonell	Halfpennyland of Ardglass
	Alex. Gillies
	Ewan Gillies
	Angus Gillies
Halfpennyland of Rifern and Poluskinan	Halfpennyland of Inverosie
Rory McDonell	Donald Gillies
	John Gillies
	Angus Gillies
	Finlay Gillies
Farthingland of Oban	
John McDonell	

Fig. 5.3, after Macpherson

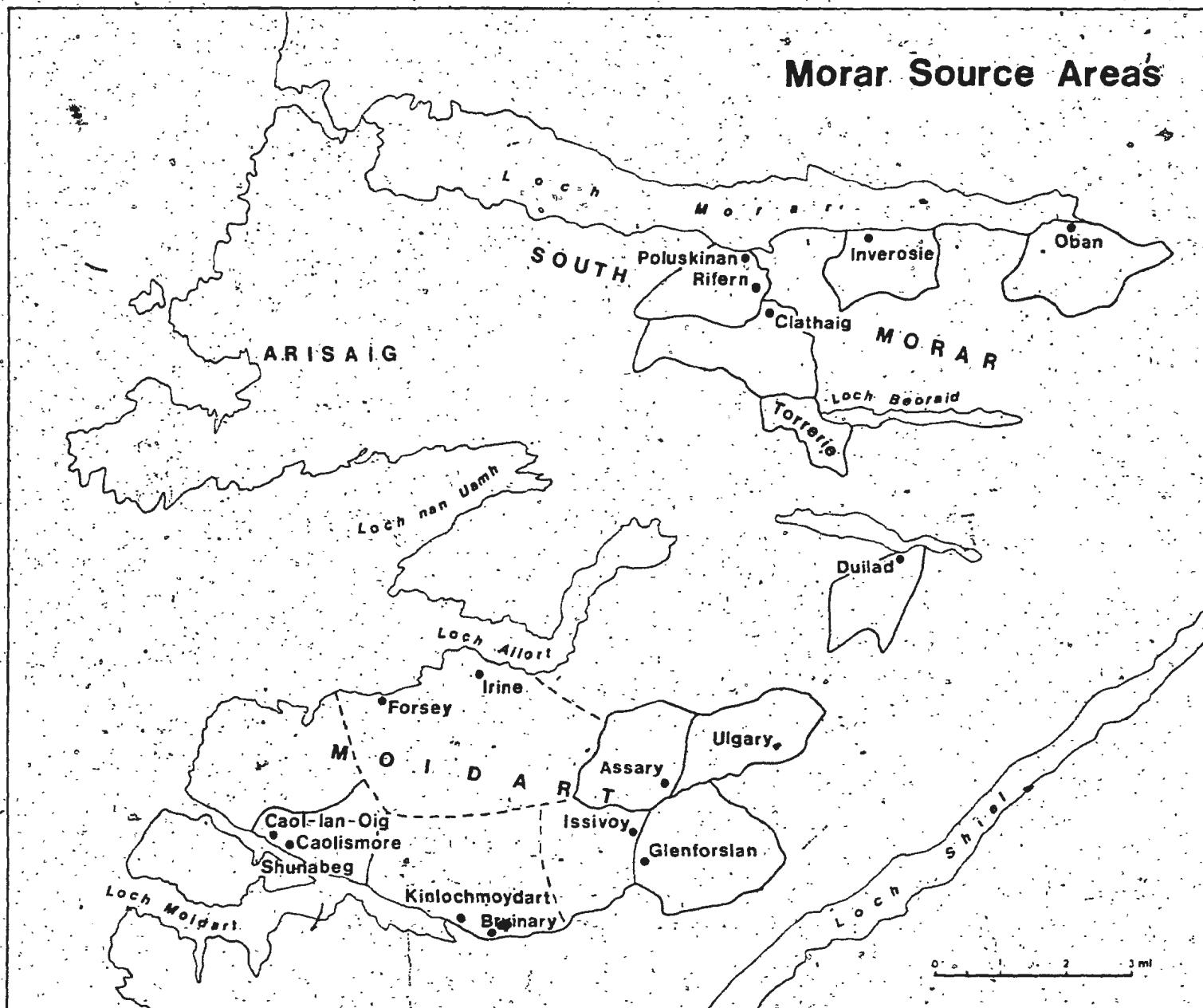


Fig. 5.4

# Highlands: Marriages, Generation 1/2

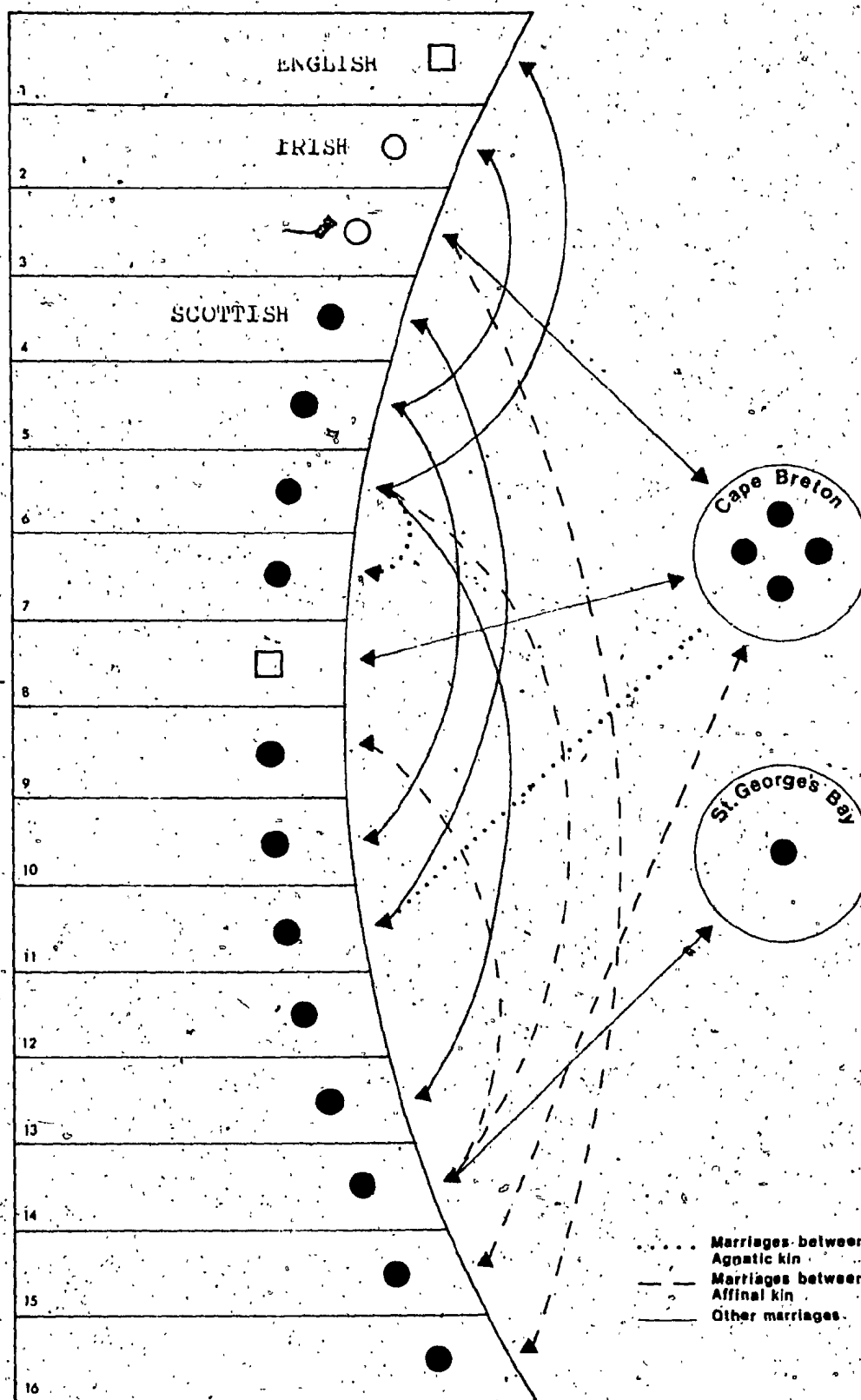


Fig. 5.5



# Highlands: Marriages, Generation 2

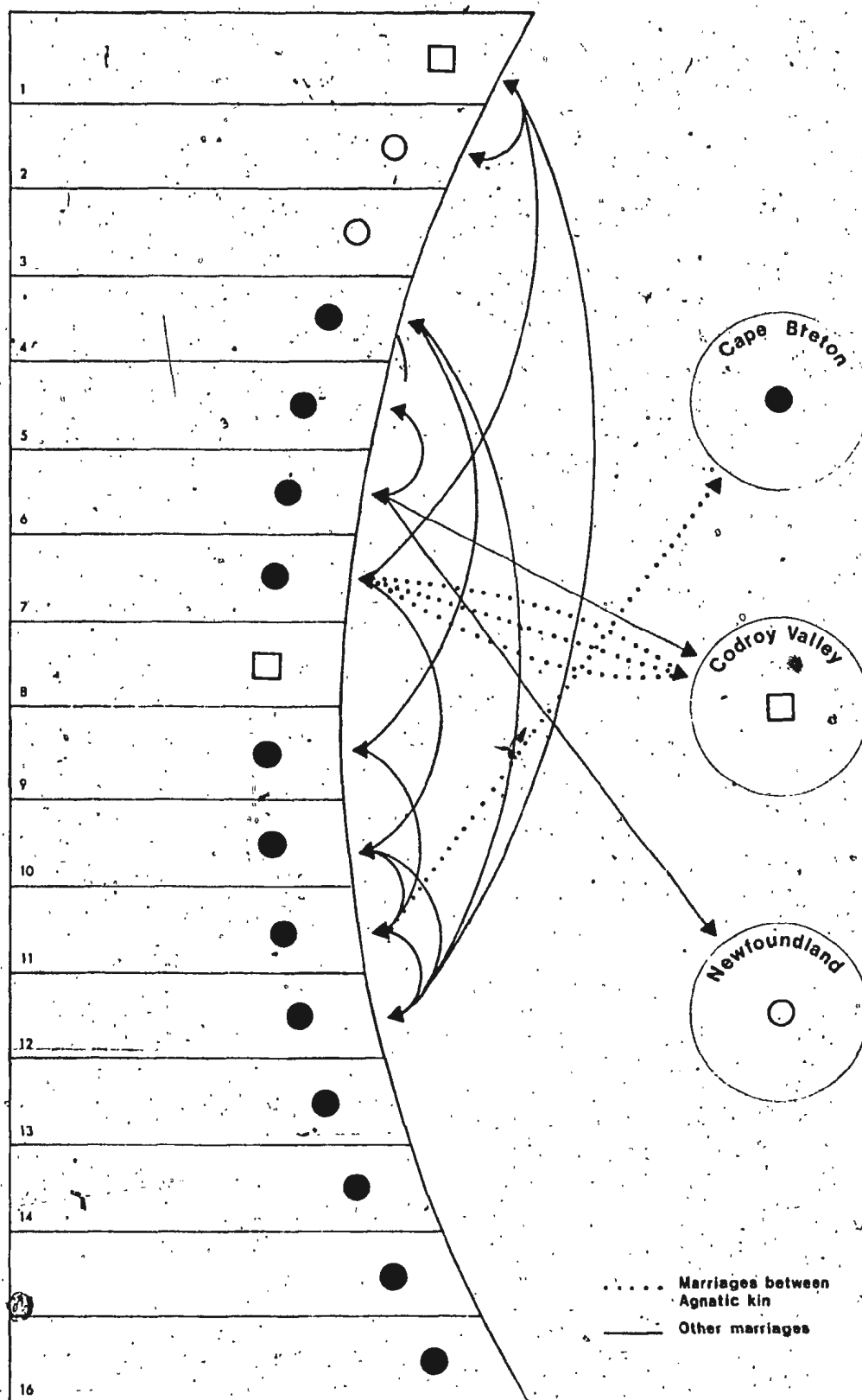


Fig. 5.6

Figure 5.2 shows the kin links that existed between settlers at the time of their arrival in Highlands.<sup>3</sup> The agnatic kin connection (first cousin) between Family 6 and Family 7 is denied by both their descendants today, although the Register of St. George's for 1855 specifies a marriage between Generation 1, Family 6 and Generation 3, Family 7 as being between second-cousins. However, local present-day descendants in both Codroy Valley and Highlands insist that they "belong to different clans",<sup>4</sup> and cite the Scottish source area of the Codroy Valley family - 'Oban' - as evidence. There is here an interesting confusion, for apart from the well-known coastal resort of Oban, Scotland, which is in Argyllshire well south of Morar, there is within Morar itself a farm called 'Oban' in the immediate vicinity of which a rent roll for 1755 and a valuation survey for 1761<sup>5</sup> attach the family surname (see Figures 5.3, 5.4). Given the kin links of the families concerned, and the unrelatedness of Oban, Argyllshire to Clanranald it can be said that it is this Morar farm from which the Codroy Valley family came, and that memory has been lost, and replaced with the present-day Codroy Valley identification of Oban with the place in Argyllshire. Moreover, the family in Highlands adjacent to Family 6 on its southern boundary can be traced affinally back to Kinloch Morar, Scotland - a neighbouring farm to that of Oban, both being located at the head of Loch Morar. These are two instances in which Newfoundland Scots families can be traced back to specific 'farm' locations in Scotland, and it is suggested that the contiguity of Families 5 and 6 on the land in both Scotland and Newfoundland may be indicative of the care with which local ties were preserved across several generations and through the Atlantic

migrations. The fact that Family 5 later moved to Codroy Valley and settled in Codroy Harbour, where the main branch of the 'Oban' family resided, is consistent with this maintenance of traditional Highland Scots kinship ties. The kin links of the in-migrating generation of settlers in Highlands, Newfoundland repeat the pattern shown in Chapter IV for Codroy Valley. It was, however, in the extension of these links through marriage that the Highlands settlers illustrate the traditional Scots pattern of clan endogamy as outlined by Macpherson.<sup>6</sup> Endogamous marriages did occur in Codroy Valley also. Full information is unavailable, but what figures are available, are as follows:

	Endogamous		Total No. Marriages	
	Highlands	Codroy Valley	Highlands	Codroy Valley
Generation 1/2	2 (14%)	2 (11%)	14	17
Generation 2	6 (35%) <sup>7</sup>	4 (6%)	17	64

So far as information will allow comparison, the development of endogamous marriage patterns persisted in Highlands, while in Codroy Valley they were never important. It is to be noted that in Highlands there is a tradition of pressure by the old people towards Scots/Scots marriage, which the Church is reputed to have attempted to dispel.<sup>8</sup>

Figure 5.1 shows that in Highlands, as in Codroy Valley, affinal links were an important means of reinforcing kinship; such was the case for Families 8 and 11, related affinally.

Figure 5.5 shows the marriages of Generation 1/2 of Highlands. A chain of migration extended from circa 1840-1860. Family 4 "came for relatives and friends and because of hard times in Nova Scotia".<sup>9</sup> An

examination of Figures 5.2 and 5.5 with Figure 5.1 will provide other examples of this process.<sup>10</sup>

Figure 5.5 shows a clear example of the migration of an extended family into the area. Family 7 consisted of parents, four adult married children (two sons and two daughters), and their spouses and children. Others of the family remained in Cape Breton. The spouses concerned provided many of the kin links shown in Figure 5.2 which resulted in the chain migration noted above. Since two of the adult children were women, they established a network of affinal kin links for the incipient settlement. Figure 5.5 shows the first two endogamous marriages of Highlands, one within the settlement, one drawing a partner from Cape Breton.<sup>11</sup> Figure 5.6 shows the development of this endogamous pattern in the second generation. It is an increase of this kind that is to be expected if the old, traditional Scots kinship system is in operation, since the expansion of population by natural increase would widen range of choice to all families and to all same-surname families. It is suggested that the present refusal of the families concerned to acknowledge kinship on arrival may stem from church disapproval of the endogamous marriages of the second generation: this influence of the church in southwestern Newfoundland on such social matters was important.<sup>12</sup> The other family in which endogamous marriage is found is Family 11, where one such alliance occurred in Generation 1/2 and a second in Generation 2. Figure 5.6 also shows affinal kin marriage between this family and Family 9. It is peculiar that this endogamous pattern occurs in Highlands where no one family name is significantly predominant, and yet does not seem to occur in Codroy Valley where the incidence of

endogamous marriages among the McIsaacs could be expected to be greater, since they were numerous. However, it is precisely among the Little River McIsaacs of Codroy Valley that data are lacking or unreliable.

Oral tradition in Highlands maintains that a "block" operated to prevent marriages between Gillises and McIsaacs; there was local prejudice against such marriages. These are the two families within which endogamous (same-surname) marriages are found as may be expected randomly. It is said of the one Gillis-McIsaac marriage, over four generations in the study area that it resulted in a forced change of residence of the couple concerned, in order to escape censure. Reasons for this "block" are stated by the families concerned as being a long-standing tradition of antipathy between the two families, and it is important to remember this when considering the emigration of McIsaacs from Broad Cove (Chapter III) and their replacement there by Gillises.<sup>13</sup>

In Generation 3 in Highlands, the pattern of clan endogamy appears to break down, but data are incomplete. Considerable inter-marriage occurred between Highlands and its daughter settlements, a pattern which also occurred in Codroy Valley, where Grand River/South Branch alliances became important in the third generation (Chapter IV, Figure 4.11). In Codroy Valley inter-ethnic marriage also increased, and all Scots settlements of southwestern Newfoundland had commenced marrying into one another, thereby widening range of choice of marriage partner.

Despite the small numbers involved, it is significant that in Highlands a series of Highland Scots kinship traditions are found

operating together among the three families who are socially dominant in the study area. The McIsaacs were most numerous, the Gillises controlled maritime trade, and the MacDonalds were of landlord descent. These patterns are also found in Codroy Valley, and in Cape Bréton, and can be traced back to traditional elements of Highland Scots culture. Endogamous marriage in the first and second generation after settlement, cross-generation marriage among families who are marrying endogamously, and "blocks" in marriage patterns, when taken in conjunction, would suggest that these Highland Scots traditions of kinship were transferred to Newfoundland.

## II: Kinship and Daughter Settlements: Campbell's Creek.

Campbell's Creek is situated on the south coast of the Port au Port Peninsula, across St. George's Bay from Highlands. It was first settled by a member of the 'Oban' family of Codroy Harbour, who squatted there in 1880 and later took up land in a different part of the settlement. Thereafter a kin group of Campbells from Little River settled over the years 1880-1886, a MacDonald family from Pictou arrived in 1881 (related affinally to the Campbells), two English Codroy Valley families settled in 1883-1884 and a family of probable St. Pierre origin arrived in 1884. This settlement exemplifies the ethnic "mix" which is found on many parts of West Coast Newfoundland.<sup>14</sup>

Probably the most important feature of Generation 1, Campbell's Creek is the manner in which kinship and marriage link all settlers at time of settlement, despite their apparently disparate origins. Figure 5.7 shows details of these links, all established prior to settlement,

# Kin And Marriage Links In Campbells Creek At Time Of Settlement

- |       |                 |    |               |
|-------|-----------------|----|---------------|
| —     | Brother/Sister  | P  | Pictou        |
| —     | Cousin (1 or 2) | PP | Port au Port  |
| - - - | Uncle/Aunt      | H  | Highlands     |
| - - - | Adopted Child   | CV | Codroy Valley |
| —     | Son/Daughter    |    |               |
| - - - | Mother/Father   |    |               |
| —     | Distant Kin     |    |               |

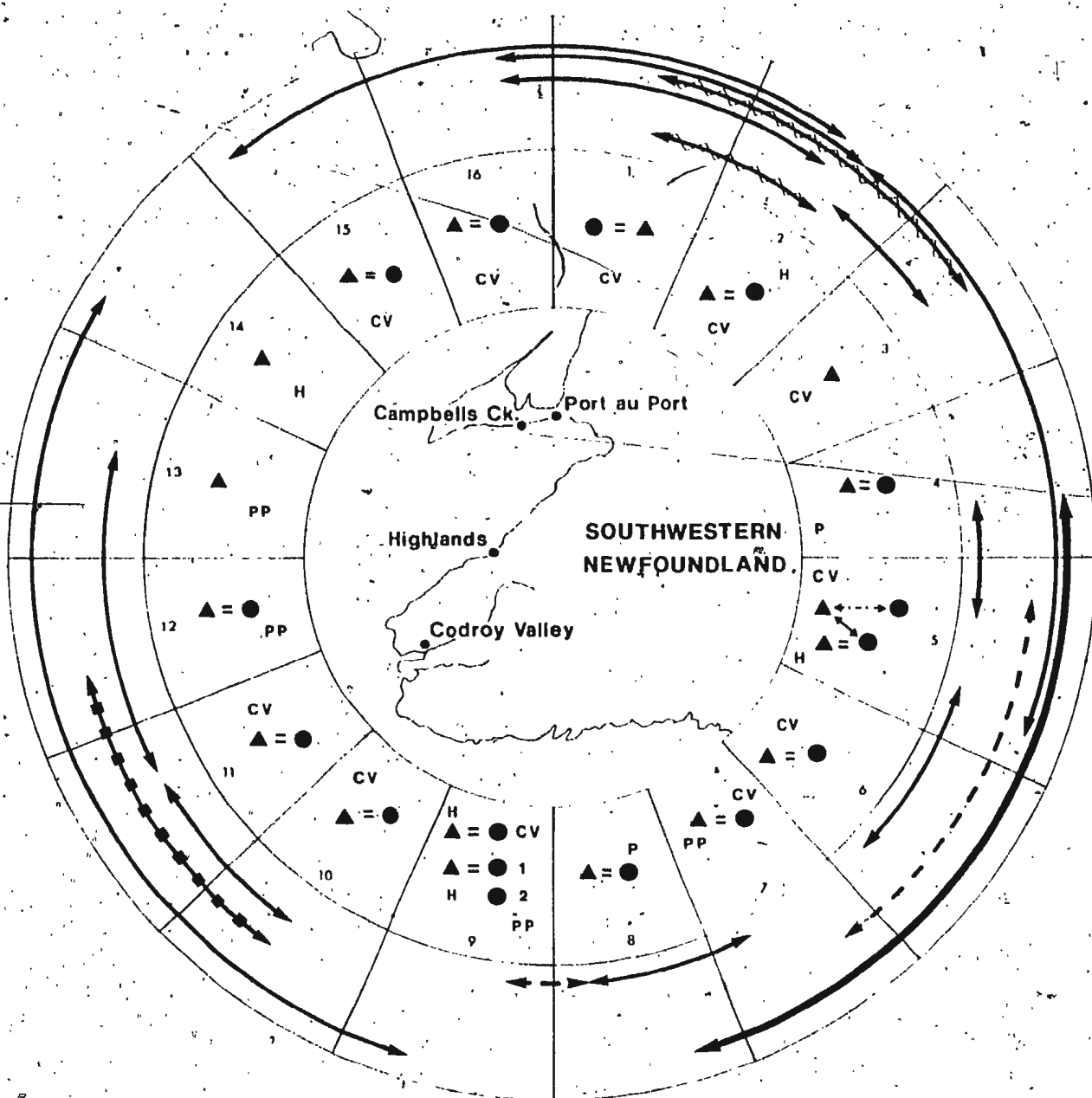


Fig. 5.7

since all pioneers were married on entry into Campbell's Creek.<sup>15</sup> The centre of the diagram shows the source areas for initial settlers immediately prior to settlement in Campbell's Creek. These were in Newfoundland or around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, though several of the pioneer generation had moved at least twice. The middle ring shows husband and wife in each family, the outer ring shows the kinship connections between the families in the settlement. At the time of immigration, all families are related to at least one other family, and there is only one instance of distant kin, i.e. beyond second-cousins. Figure 5.7 is constructed such that neighbours on the land appear contiguous on the diagram, excepting Families 1 and 16 who were located at opposite ends of the settlement (see Figure 5.8). The links to Highlands and Codroy Valley are obviously significant:

<u>Source Area</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>
Codroy Valley	13
Highlands	5
Port au Port	3
Felix Cove	1
Pictou	2
Total	24

These connections were to be reinforced by the choice of marriage partner in the second generation, with a slight increase in emphasis on Port au Port families, mostly Scots in origin. As one Campbell's Creek informant said: "There used to be strong connections between Highlands and Codroy Valley and Campbell's Creek."<sup>16</sup> It is these connections which in great



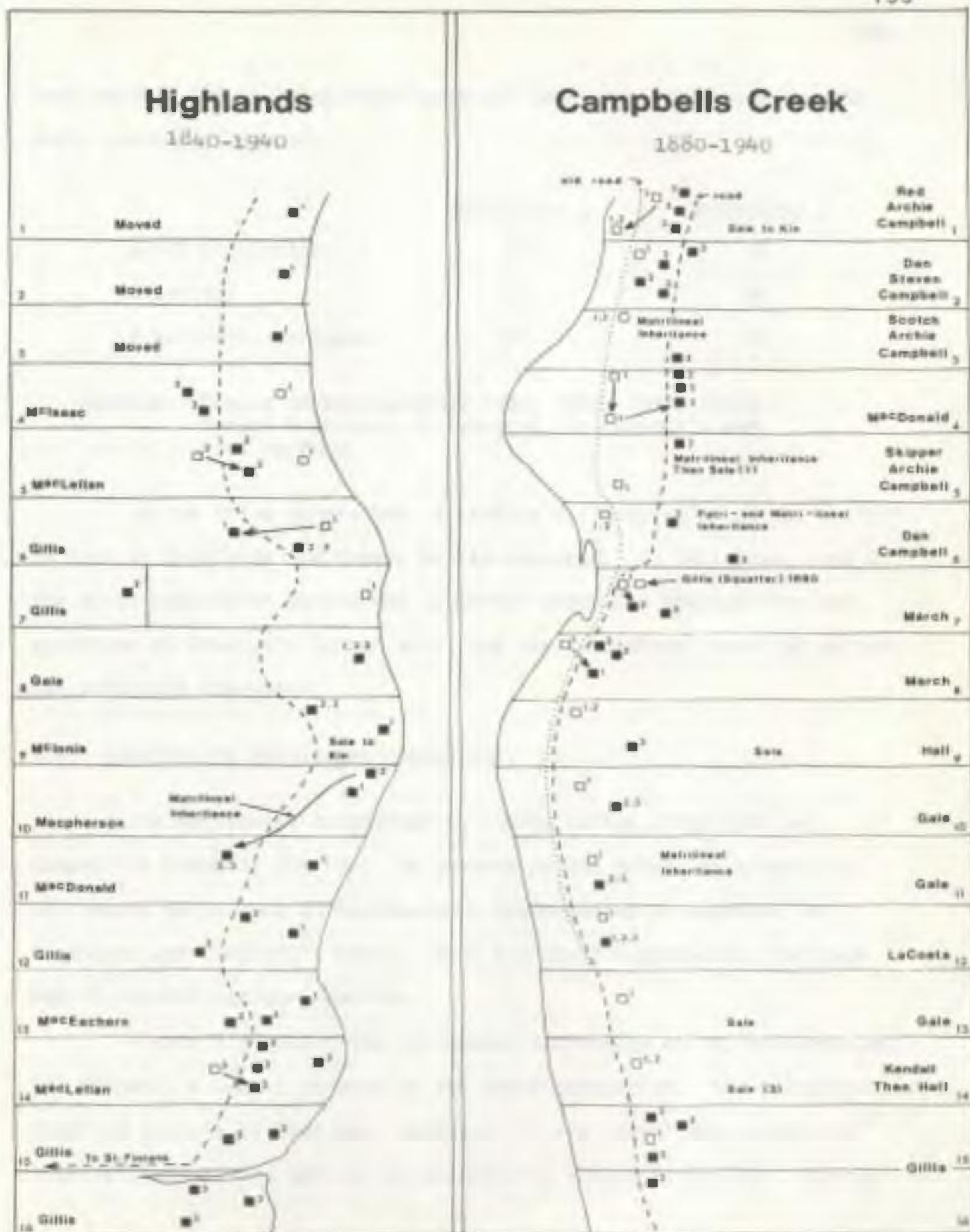


Fig. 5.8

part account for the very high 'external marriage' statistics for the early settlement period:

	<u>Generation 1</u>	<u>Generation 2</u>
Adult population	30	65
% married	100	50
% external marriages	100	78

Sources: Census of Newfoundland 1884, 1891, 1901, 1911;  
Parish Registers of Searston, St. George's and  
Port au Port.

In the third generation, a similar disintegration of the pattern as seen in Highlands and Codroy Valley occurred. In this case, many of the adult population were drawn to Corner Brook for the building and operation of Bowater's lumber mill, and the traditional marriage pattern was seriously disrupted.

### III. Kinship and Settlement Morphology.

The settlement morphology in Codroy Valley, Highlands and Campbell's Creek is similar. An example of the effect of kinship on settlement morphology in southwestern Newfoundland is examined in Highlands and Campbell's Creek. Both are small settlements, and each had 16 initial nuclear families.

Figure 5.8 shows the settlement morphology of (a) Highlands, and (b) Campbell's Creek, through to the third generation. Kin relationships involved in sale of land are indicated, as are inheritance patterns.<sup>17</sup> Both settlements are seen to be essentially linear in pattern. Marine

limits at c. 150 feet bounded by bedrock behind the various farms (particularly in Campbell's Creek), transport demands and availability (depending on generation), and the strip patterning of surveyed lots in the area are all important to an understanding of the settlement pattern. In Campbell's Creek settlement is also at the "spring line" (the bedrock is limestone through which water will percolate<sup>18</sup>), and accessibility to spring (drinking) water was stated by all informants as being critical in the location of dwellings. Marshland had to be avoided in both settlements. In the first generation of Highlands, transport was by sea only and nearly all houses were located along the shore. In succeeding generations roads were built (or improved, in the case of Campbell's Creek) and families moved back from the shore to gain shelter and be accessible to the road.

In Campbell's Creek particularly it is noticeable that non-Scots families generally possess only one house on their lot. The Scots families, by contrast, in both settlements show a proliferation of housing by lot in the third generation: that is, there are the beginnings of a tendency to kin clustering. Such clustering of houses by kin was not the only feature of Scots settlement in southwestern Newfoundland. Joint operation of the farmlands attached to the homestead also occurred, as noted earlier for the in-migrating Codroy Valley Scots.

Figure 5.9 shows the development of Farm 4, Campbell's Creek, from the first to the fourth generation. In the first generation the homestead was built close to road and sea, and the pioneer settler lived on it with his brother and his family for several years, after which time the brother's family returned to Nova Scotia. They operated a farm



of fifty-five acres on a joint basis - the land belonged to both of them, they shared investment costs, produce, profits and labour. They also helped other relatives in the settlement. Closest kin were neighbours, and for others the important factor was one of distance: kin were helped over an area where it was practical to offer assistance. In the second generation, the farm was inherited by the two sons of the pioneer. Each inherited half the land, and a line fence was drawn up between the two sub-divisions of the original lot, but thereafter, for several years, the farm continued to operate as it had done under the two first generation brothers, with investment costs, produce, profits and labour being shared equally. In the second generation, one brother experienced personal financial difficulties, and sold the Field on the Bank to his brother, and thereafter worked his land only periodically and alone. The initial settler (while he lived), his son and grandson, worked the remaining half of the land jointly. They continued to share labour and equipment with other relatives in the settlement. In the third generation, the land which had been only partially exploited by the one brother of the previous generation was sold to his first cousin on his mother's side (Angus Dan).<sup>19</sup> The remaining land of the original Farm 4 was worked by the grandson of the pioneer and his family. Mutual aid during harvest and seeding times was always the modus operandi between the two sub-divisions of the original farm, now owned by affinal cousins. Each, however, made his own financial outlays, and retained his own profits; both continued to aid other relatives in the settlement with labour and equipment. In the fourth generation, Angus Dan and his adult family worked their portion of the land in a full joint manner, sharing

costs, profits, labour and ownership. All inherited a share of the land, unspecified as to location, and no land could be sold without written agreement by all owners.<sup>20</sup> The informant (grandson of the original pioneer) and his adult family did likewise. Labour and equipment were shared between these cousins and second-cousins when necessary, and also shared with other relatives in the settlement. It must be noted, however, that by this generation (the fourth) the sons of the informant and Angus Dan were also employed in other ways, and farming had become a secondary occupation. Throughout all generations, moreover, fishing was subsidiary among the Scots families, though other families - such as the St. Pierre family - were primarily fishermen, and the sons of both families would fish together in a variety of crew combinations.

In the fourth generation there is the beginning of kin group clustering of houses, which was common in Scotland where it was known as the clàchan, and which is also characteristic of Newfoundland.<sup>21</sup> Where these clusters have been examined elsewhere in Newfoundland, however, the rationale for clustering has been seen in terms of a fishing economy.<sup>22</sup> Even with the clustered agricultural settlements of the Cape Shore<sup>23</sup> the tendency towards agglomerated settlement increased as fishing grew more important. Among the Scots in southwestern Newfoundland, however, joint farming would appear to have been the basis for the clachan-like morphology of settlement.

Fairhurst<sup>24</sup> and Gailey<sup>25</sup> writing on clachan morphology in Scotland both associate clachan structure with the practice of conjoint tenancy and farming. Fairhurst observes that "The clusters represent a

Settlement type intimately associated with the old group farms ... It would appear that the group farm was in fact the raison d'être of the clustered dwellings."<sup>26</sup> Gailey makes the same association.<sup>27</sup> The linear morphology of Campbell's Creek and Highlands also has its counterpart in Scotland. Gailey suggests that the linear pattern he found for some Kintyre clachans of 1750-1800 was possibly a product of agricultural "improvement" and the resulting re-ordering of the Scottish landscape:

Most clachans show a distinct tendency to a linear or rectangular plan ... it is tentatively suggested that the distinction ... recognisable on a morphological basis, may also be valid chronologically ... the linear or rectangular clachan belonging to the period of improvement.<sup>28</sup>

Fairhurst adds that:

Generally speaking ... many clachans must have been deserted in the period roughly between 1820 and 1850, when there was a catastrophic decline in the Highland population with widespread evictions and emigration.<sup>29</sup>

It is likely, then, that the Highland Scots of southwestern Newfoundland, whose immediate forebears, or they themselves, were among the emigrants referred to by Fairhurst, transferred a landlord inspired settlement form to the New World which was preserved by virtue of its basis in a joint farming economy, operated by kingroups. Further, Gailey notes the persistence of clachan form in Scotland after the demise of multiple tenancy:

The conservation [sic] of a tenant population in accepting a new order meant that there was a lag between the disappearance in a legal sense of the multiple-tenancy farm, and the decline of the concomitant small rural nucleation or 'clachan'.<sup>30</sup>

It is interesting to note that even in present-day Campbell's Creek and Highlands clusters continue to develop, despite the fact that agricultural

activity in the area has fallen off and joint farming can thus no longer be considered as an important economic factor in the rationale of settlement morphology.

Today, clustering in all three parts of the study area would appear to be an example of inertia, the persistence of a tradition after the original rationale had ceased to be important. Such inertia would also appear to be exhibited in the present-day social contacts between the three parts of the study area. The kin social or socio-economic connections demonstrated for them in the generations immediately following settlement still exist today, although to a lesser extent. Many people in Codroy Valley maintain contacts with the inhabitants of Campbell's Creek, while social relationships with the people of, for example, Robinsons (40 miles nearer) are virtually non-existent.

The Highland tradition of kinship which seems to have come to Cape Breton virtually intact, and which survived a second migration to Newfoundland, has been shown to have weakened in all parts of the study area in the third generation after settlement. In the present generation, an operating kinship system based on Highland traditions no longer exists, the related joint farming economy has virtually disappeared, and 'clachan' settlement morphology can be described only as a relict<sup>31</sup> feature in the cultural landscape.



## NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1. List of inhabitants on the Western Shore of Newfoundland, September 1838: Duplicates of Dispatches and Originals of Enclosures to the Colonial Office, 1839. H.M.S. "Crocodile". No Scots were included in the list for St. George's Bay. Due to out-migration, not all dates-of-entry can be precisely given.
2. Information is taken from MacDougall's genealogies, oral evidence, and records of births, marriages and deaths in the Parish Registers of Searston and St. George's. Both Registers were required since Highlands had no resident priest, and visitations could be recorded in either Register as a result.
3. Although the actual coastline in the area is relatively straight, it has been curved in this and the succeeding two figures in order to avoid visual confusion.
4. Mr. John MacNeil and Mrs. Harriet MacArthur, Codroy Valley, August 1971.  
Mrs. Catherine Hall, Highlands, May 1971.
5. A.G. Macpherson, "Land Tenure, Social Structure and Resource Use in the Scottish Highlands, 1747-1784" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, McGill University, 1969).
6. A.G. Macpherson, "An Old Highland Parish Register," Scottish Studies, V. 11 (1967); Scottish Studies, V. 12 (1968).
7. It is interesting that the proportion of endogamous marriages here is identical to that shown by Macpherson in Laggan. "Rather more than one third of the recorded marriages were endogamous."  
"An Old Highland Genealogy and the Evolution of a Scottish Clan," Scottish Studies, 10 (1966), p. 16.
8. Mrs. Catherine Hall, Mr. Charles Macpherson, Highlands.
9. Mr. Charles Macpherson, Highlands, May 1971.
10. It should be noted in Figure 5.1 that the marriage of 7d to 6 (i.e. 3rd generation to 1st generation) is not necessarily a youth/old age alliance: 1st generation Lot 6 is 2nd generation Codroy Valley. This means that the marriage is only across one generation. Such marriages are also found in Codroy Valley, for example, among the MacArthurs and MacIsaacs (cf. Chapter IV, Figure 4.17), and were also common in traditional Highland society (cf. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 18): "Another common feature of the endogamous marriages ... was the existence of a gap of one generation between husband and wife."

- 11! The Marriage Register of St. George's records the alliance of 6-7d as follows:  
 "Marriage, 29th May, 1855:  
 Second cousins. With permission of Donald Gillies and Margaret MacNeil.  
 Rory Gillies, older son, of Grand River, Cod Roy to Mary Catherine,  
 youngest daughter of Louis Gillies and Catherine MacEachen."  
 Signed by John Gillies and Archibald MacIsaac.
12. J. Szwed, "Private Cultures and Public Imagery. Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society," Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 2 (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), pp. 154-55, also esp. pp. 68-69.
13. Such antipathies, operating to block marriages between certain families, were a feature of Scots Highland society. Macpherson ("An Old Highland Parish Register", II, p. 91) notes a custom of avoiding marriage ties between Macphersons and MacIntoshes in Laggan, and quotes from the "Loyall Dissuasive" of Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie to his chief, Duncan of Clunie in 1701, which specifically directs a policy of non-alliance between these families.
14. Field School Reports. Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970-73. Unpublished.
15. Oral genealogies confirmed by the Searston and St. George's Parish Registers.
16. Verbatim: Mr. John F. Campbell, Campbell's Creek, September 1972.
17. Information from official cadastral surveys for the areas concerned, and oral evidence from descendants of the families involved.
18. G.C. Riley, "Stephenville/Port au Port Area, Lower-Middle Ordovician in an area of Table Head and St. George's group - Limestone and dolomite," G.S.C. Memoir 323 (1962).
19. In Codroy Valley, family Cb3, when they moved from Grand River to South Branch, sold to members of family Cb2 with whom they were affinal kin. However, the sales took place only after the daughters of Cb3 had married into Cb2, i.e. after relationships formed in the second-generation had been reinforced in the third generation. See Figure 4.17.
20. On the cadastral surveys of the Codroy Valley, joint ownership by brothers is indicated thus:  
 e.g. John Campbell (Allan) on one lot,  
       Allan Campbell (John) on the adjacent lot.
21. Matrilineal inheritance occurs in Farm 4 in the fourth generation, and also throughout the study area. This results in a proliferation of different surnames in these Scots settlements, but with close affinal ties.

22. P. Jolin, "The Familial and Contractual Features in a South Labrador Village," prepared for I.S.E.R. Colloquium, St. John's, Newfoundland, 1967. (Mimeographed).  
T. Nemec, "I Fish With My Brother: The Structure and Behaviour of Agnatic-Based Fishing Crews in a Newfoundland Irish Outport," in North Atlantic Fishermen: Anthropological Essays on Modern Fishing, ed. by R. Andersen and C. Wadel, Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers No. 5 (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972), pp. 9-34.  
J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in Press).  
Interestingly, there is little or no clustering among the non-Scots families of Campbell's Creek and Highlands.
23. J. Mannion, "Tradition and Change in a Newfoundland Outport: The Case of Point Lance," Canada Studies Foundation, C.A.G. Project (1972).  
Mss. ... "Irish Imprints on the Landscape of Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1971).
24. H. Fairhurst, "Scottish Clachans," S.G.M., Vol. 76, No. 2 (September, 1960), pp. 67-76.
25. R. Gailey, "Settlement and Population in Kintyre 1750-1800," S.G.M., Vol. 76, No. 2 (September, 1960), pp. 99-107.
26. Fairhurst, op. cit., p. 69.
27. Gailey, op. cit., p. 103.
28. Gailey, op. cit., p. 104.
29. Fairhurst, op. cit., p. 72.
30. Gailey, op. cit., p. 103.
31. A feature of the cultural landscape which no longer exists for its original purpose (in this case, joint farming), but which has been able to survive through an adaptation of the old form to give it a modern application.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There is an abundant literature concerning the impact of mobility on kinship ties. Almost all of this literature has argued that traditional bonds of kinship are frayed or sundered as a result of migrations. The Atlantic migrations exemplify this process. For more than three centuries, millions of Europeans left their familiar surroundings and crossed the Atlantic to settle in North America. The general view is that, by and large, the social composition of this migrant stream was one of unrelated individuals or unrelated nuclear families. Few ever saw their homeland or kinfolk again, and the familiar supportive network of kinship was believed to have been unravelled by the upheaval of the Atlantic crossing. Family life in the New World, initially at any rate, was a lonely and highly individualistic one. The immigrants were, in the words of the historian Handlin, "the uprooted":

They spoke of relationships, of ties, of family, of kinship, of many rights and obligations ... In their daily affairs, these people took account of the relationships among themselves through a reckoning of degrees of kinship. The villagers regarded themselves as a clan connected within itself by ties of blood, more or less remote ... considerations of kinship had heavy weight in the village.

Emigration would destroy all this:

He went as an individual. Although entire communities were uprooted at the same time, although the whole life of the Old World had been communal, the act of migration was individual.

The present study has examined one small fragment of the great migrations: that of Highland Scots from Clanranald territory, who sailed to Cape Breton and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Some of these, or their descendants, came ultimately to southwestern Newfoundland, during the period 1840 to 1860. This group of Highlanders crossed the Atlantic, usually neither alone, nor even as unrelated nuclear families, but in large extended kin groups. The social cohesion of these groups was generally maintained, despite geographical mobility, and despite the hardships of settling in an alien land. Indeed, on occasion, further mobility was the means by which strained kin links were reinforced. As Samuel Johnson had it:

Whole neighbourhoods formed parties for removal; so that their departure from their native country is no longer exile ... He sits down in a better climate surrounded by his kindred and his friends ... they change nothing but the place of their abode ... This is the real effect of emigration, if those that go away together settle on the same spot and preserve their ancient union.

It was the Scottish clann in the homeland, which suffered the disruption and dissolution that is usually regarded as the inevitable fate of the emigrant:

When the children of the poor man [in Scotland] grew up, not one of them could remain assisting the father ... They sent most of our relatives to America thirty five years ago. They pulled down the houses over their heads...<sup>2</sup>

and, significantly:

Retribution has overtaken the evictors [on the West Coast of Scotland] ... There is now scarcely one of the name Macdonald in the wide district once inhabited by thousands...<sup>3</sup>

The persistence of kinship ties amongst migrating Scots is difficult to explain. They may have clung together, not only because kinship ties

had been traditionally cherished, but perhaps also because they believed that group movement would be economically and psychologically beneficial in the New World. The old blood ties of the Scottish Highlands were not merely, or even primarily, emotional: they were, above all, functional. The Scottish clan system was no longer operating in its entirety by the time that emigration to Canada was fully under way. The clan, as a political unit, was no longer effective; the *sliochd* remained only as a symbol of the clansman's awareness of his own particular ancestry; the local clann can alone be said, with any degree of certainty, to have survived as an operating unit. It is this clann which was transferred to the New World, and it is therefore the particular function of this local kin group which must be considered, in order to attempt an explanation of its persistence and survival.

The clann in Scotland was a functioning economic and social unit. From the point of view of transfer to the New World, it should be seen as the blood-kin base from which joint farming operated; it was a compact unit, providing social and economic cohesion and security. During the 'tacksman' emigrations of the 1770's, local kin (clann) groups of tacksmen and their sub-tenants are known to have emigrated together, in an effort to preserve the ancient Highland social order; in the later emigrations of poorer people of lower status, who left their homeland en masse, the persistent solidarity of kin groups, desirous of remaining together, was considerable. In addition, the mechanism of chain migration functioned efficiently through kin; immigrants already established in North America provided promise of shelter and economic support for kin wishing to emigrate. Such clann ties directed migration

flow in the New World from specific Scottish source areas to specific destinations. The migrations to Cape Breton occurred in this way, and kin ties were a potent force even in the 'secondary' chain migration of Cape Breton Scots into southwestern Newfoundland. In this series of small chain migrations, no single element in the migrant population can be discerned as being in control of decision-making in the migration process: women moved to marry, and their kin followed later; families moved because of insecurity of tenure, and their kin followed later; families also moved concurrently in large extended kin groups.

Gould<sup>4</sup> has suggested that "nuclear families almost invariably appear to be merely phases in the developmental cycle", and such research as has been done on immigrating European peasantry to North America would appear to support him. Future research may or may not show that most eastern Canadian pioneer families were nuclear at the time of initial settlement; and that over succeeding generations, if left undisturbed, they slowly evolved into extended kin groups. The latter, for example, was the case with the Cape Shore Irish of Placentia Bay, Newfoundland.

The Highland Scots, however, did not experience this disruption of kinship. This present study has discerned no break in the operating extended family network which was the basis of the ancestral society in the Old World. They retained a structurally complex and functionally sophisticated network of Scots kin links, not only through two separate migrations, but thereafter, throughout three generations of settlement in an area which was ethnically diverse.

This experience of the Highland Scots may or may not be eccentric in the overall pattern of the great migrations. Almost all studies to date of social structure of the migrating groups are overgeneralized and simplistic. By examining the fine detail of actual kinship links for a small group of Highlanders, this study has demonstrated the survival of a traditional kinship pattern over an extended time-period, despite, or in some cases because of, considerable mobility of the migrants concerned. The demonstration of one exception to the generally accepted pattern of social disruption among immigrants to the New World,<sup>5</sup> would suggest that careful examination, at the micro-level, of other ethnic groups which were involved in the European exodus, is needed. Such studies, especially if they consider social conditions both before and after immigration, may well bring to light further examples of hitherto unexpected social cohesion among the supposedly 'uprooted' pioneers of North America.

A second, and related, consideration of this study, was the manner in which kinship influenced early settlement in southwestern Newfoundland. It was demonstrated, in the sample studies of Campbell Creek and Highlands, that the basic features of the linear Scottish clachan of the early 1800's existed: namely, clustering by kin and an economic basis in joint farming.

Gailey suggests that the linear pattern of clachans in Scotland was possibly a product of agricultural 'improvement' with resulting re-ordering of the Highland Scottish landscape. Fairhurst noted that:



Generally speaking ... many clachans ... must have been deserted in the period roughly between 1820 and 1850, when there was a catastrophic decline in the Highland population with widespread evictions and emigration.

It seems likely that the Newfoundland Scots, who had emigrated during this period, transferred (via Cape Breton), a version of the clachan, 'improved' in situ and based on kin and joint farming.

Gailey indicated the continued existence of linear clachan structure in Scotland after the demise of the old group farms, and postulated that the reluctance

of a tenant population in accepting a new order meant that there was a lag between the disappearance in a legal sense of the multiple-tenancy farm, and the decline of the concomitant small rural nucleation or 'clachan'.

This present study, noting the same persistence of a traditional settlement form in southwestern Newfoundland - after the economic rationale of joint farming had disappeared - suggests that, in this respect at least, the clachan has become a relict feature on the Newfoundland cultural landscape. However, it is to be observed that clustering continues to develop even today in Campbell's Creek and Highlands, and this suggests strongly that joint farming is no more than a practical manifestation of the kin group structure on the land, essential to a traditional economy, but not, per se, the basis of the traditional settlement form.

However, while the Newfoundland clachan has developed under a tradition of land ownership, the Scottish clachan developed under a system of conjoint tenancy. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether or not conjoint tenancy was a basic factor in kin cluster. Both Fairhurst and Gailey associate clachan structure in Scotland with the practice of

conjoint tenancy and joint farming, and this study has noted the importance of joint farming under ownership in Newfoundland. It may be, however, that in Scotland, under tenancy, conjoint tenancy and group farming taken together constituted the rationale for the clachan, and the transition to ownership in the New World allowed a different set of factors to come into play. That is, in the New World, under ownership, the economy could change and kin cluster persist, solely because of inheritance patterns among kin on the land. The problem of the nature of conjoint tenancy as a causal factor in kin cluster may be seen in the light of Macpherson's study of Badenoch. He described the long-term holding of tenancies among various kin groups in enough detail to suggest that conjoint tenancies were, in fact, sufficiently secure to allow at least a feeling of "ownership" to develop:

The clan system ... represented a vital compromise between feudalism and tribalism which greatly reduced the annual hazards of the renewal of the 'tack'. Families who had maintained effective occupancy of a farm or township for three generations were said to have established a duthchas or right of ancient possession ... the tacksmen of such farms followed each other in the tenancy by patrilineal succession ... A clan chief ... would normally act as spokesman ... for a clansman threatened with removal from his ancestral farm.

That is to say, conditions of tenant occupancy in the Highlands of Scotland were so structured that strong feelings of "ownership" developed, and were recognised and respected within Highland society. Thus the Old World tenant and the New World owner were not in radically different positions vis à vis their security of holding, or the ability to transfer land from one generation to the next.

In summary, it is suggested that the Newfoundland clachan offers a 'control' situation, whereby the contributory factors of joint farming, ownership and kin can be examined in turn. Ownership replaced the conjoint tenancy of Scotland. In the Old World, joint farming has been seen as the major causal factor in clachan formation. However, in the New World, when joint farming ceases to exist, clustering by kin continues to develop. Further, conjoint tenancy under a stable clan system in Scotland (i.e. pre-1745), and New World ownership, have been shown to be essentially similar in their influence on kin groups, operating through inheritance over generations on the land. It would appear that kin is the causal factor in Scottish clachan formation; joint farming, conjoint tenancy or ownership are subsidiary contributors to the settlement morphology of the Scottish, or the Newfoundland-Scottish, clachan.

Kin group clusters in Newfoundland are generally distinguishable by the existence of only one or two surnames in common in a given settlement. It has been noted for the southwestern Newfoundland Scottish 'clachan', that this is not true: that affinal, as well as endogamous, kin links have developed, and that a direct consequence of this has been a diversity of surnames, concealing the existence of a resident kin group structure. The importance of affinal kin links to the Highland Scots in Newfoundland, and their re-affirmation by 'affinally endogamous' marriages, at least to the end of the third generation, is a major conclusion of this study. The endogamous pattern of marriage

documented by Macpherson in Laggan, and generally assumed by Scottish clan historians and genealogists, is not seen as being of particular importance in the kinship networks examined in this Newfoundland study, the community of Highlands excepted. Rather, the dominant feature of the Scottish kinship system in the New World has been the maintenance, and re-affirmation through marriage, of affinal links.

Whether or not these linkages were important in the Scottish clan system in the homeland, is unknown; it is possible that they have remained undetected by virtue of the superficially exogamous nature of marriages to affinal kin. It is also possible that the removal of political and feudal rights in Scotland, with the 1745 Rising, would have dispensed with the need for traditional clan endogamy. Affinal ties might then become important. Yet another alternative is that the changed social and economic conditions of emigrants in the New World endowed affinal ties with a new importance. More generally, this pattern of affinal links may be found in other New World marriage systems, either as an adaptation, common to all pioneer ethnic groups or societies in their life on an expanding frontier, or as a traditional kinship system carried from the homeland. Affinal kin marriage would maintain the social cohesion of any isolated group, while preventing inordinate inbreeding; such a control might well be a natural device of any pioneer group operating within a genetically-restricted community.

Whatever the answer may be; the problem is relevant to the history of the Scottish clans; to the understanding of Highland Scots ethnic identity and its transfer to, and survival in, the New World; to studies of kinship systems in general; and indeed to the broader

analysis of society and settlement in frontier North America.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

1. O. Handlin, The Uprooted (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951), pp. 8-9, 38.
2. J. Campbell, ed., The Book of Barra (London, Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1963), p. 240.
3. A. Mackenzie, The Highland Clearances (Second Edition Revised; Glasgow: A. MacLaren, no date).
4. H. Gould, "Lucknow Rickshawallas: The Social Organization of an Occupational Category," in Kinship and Geographical Mobility, ed. by R. Piddington (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965).
5. One of the few other known exceptions to this assumed disruption of immigrants in the New World was that of religious groups such as the Mennonites - See J. Warkentin, "Mennonite Agricultural Settlements of Southern Manitoba," Geogr. Rev., 49: 3 (1959), pp. 342-68.

## APPENDIX ONE

The family of Clanranald was descended from Ranald, first chief of Moydart (see p. 48). Roderick, his grandson, had two sons, one of whom inherited; the other, Hector (= Eachuinn), became progenitor of the Clann Eachuinn or MacEachans. Dugald MacRanald MacDonald, sixth chief of Moydart, was assassinated, and his heirs excluded from the succession, his son acquiring the estate of Morar; his descendants were known as "MacDhugail Mhorair" within the MacDonald context. The MacDougalls of Broad Cove, Margaree and southwestern Newfoundland are Morar MacDougalls (= MacDonalds). Morar and Moidart were linked together as part of the territory under the dominion of Clanranald. The succession of Clanranald passed to John (uncle of Dougall, 6th of Moydart) who held the lands of Moydart and Arisaig along with part of Eigg, by a Crown Charter of 1531. This John (MacAlistair) was brother to the MacDonalds of Knoydart and Glengarry, and his second son's heir, Alexander, became the progenitor of the Glenaladale and Borrodale MacDonalds. The following generation saw the acquisition of Benbecula, while a branch of the family acquired Kinlochmoidart. In 1610, Donald (9th chief of Clanranald) received confirmation and extension of his holdings in Moydart, Arisaig and Eigg, along with some holdings in Boisdale and Kindess, South Uist. In 1645, John (10th of Clanranald) received a bond from Allan MacAlistair, Laird of Morar, who bound and obliged himself and his successors to be "bondsmen and true servants to

Clanranald 'Fiar of Moydart'", while Clanranald bound himself and his heirs to "stand be him in any where he will cause do, as his chief should do".<sup>1</sup> John's daughter married MacNeil of Barra, and his son Donald obtained a charter for the Island of Canna, in 1664. In 1715 the kinship bond of Clanranald was seen in operation in the Jacobite Rising, when Allan (12th of Clanranald) summoned his vassals of Moydart, Arisaig and the Small Isles, and sailed from Uist to join the forces at Braemar.

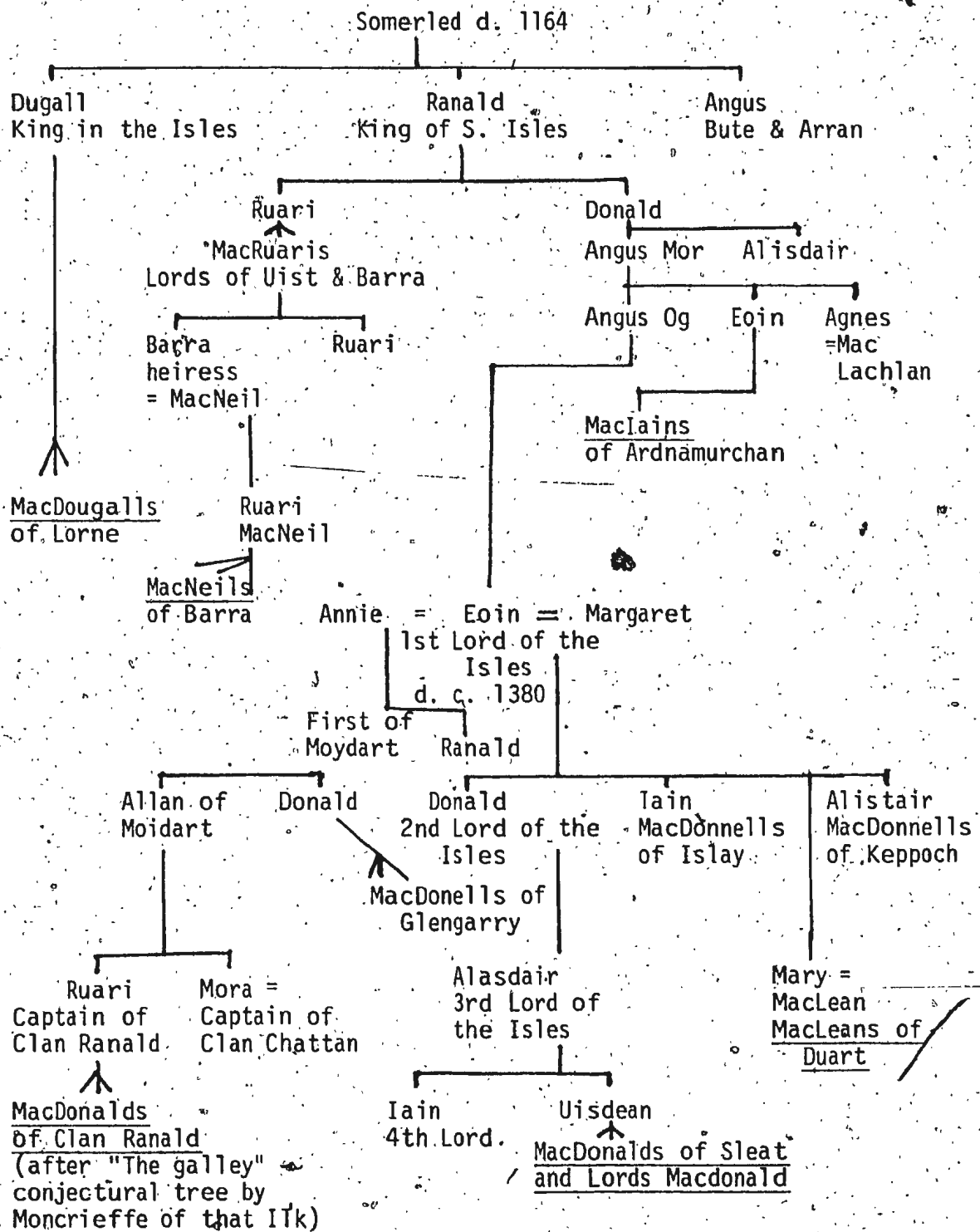
Ranald (15th of Clanranald) was brother to Alexander who was progenitor of the MacDonalds of Boisdale (South Uist). Ranald (16th of Clanranald), along with MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart and Glenaladale, was among the first to join Prince Charles Edward Stuart in 1745, and his second wife was the daughter of Mackinnon of Mackinnon who owned that part of Skye around Strathsuardale. The 18th chief of Clanranald was Reginald, who sold his estates to Colonel Gordon of Cluny (of Aberdeenshire) in 1837. In 1838 this same Gordon of Cluny acquired the MacNeil of Barra estates.

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<sup>1</sup> Mackenzie, Alexander; History of the Macdonalds, Part XXIII: The Family of Clanranald, The Celtic Magazine, Vol. VI, 422 (No. LXXI, September), 1881.



## Clan Ranald Origins



## -APPENDIX TWO

### Out-migration from Codroy Valley, Bay St. George 1901-1921

Table 4.1<sup>1</sup> tabulates age/sex specific population loss in Little and Grand Codroy Rivers for the census periods 1901-1911 and 1911-1921, using the technique of cohort analysis. The first feature to be observed is that Grand River loses a great deal more of its population than does Little River, in terms of actual numbers. The second feature of note is that, in both places, there is a heavy loss in the younger age-groups, i.e. 10 years to 39 years, which would suggest that young adults and their children (i.e. families) are being lost to the area. The Searston register of deaths gives no indication of any epidemic which would have affected such a section of the population,<sup>2</sup> and so we must assume that out-migration is responsible for a large part of this loss. Thirdly, it is to be noted that the heaviest losses occur in Grand River in the 1901-1911 time period. Part of this can be accounted for by the establishment of the daughter settlement of South Branch at this time. The census of South Branch records an influx of 27 males and 37 females during 1901-1911, mostly in the 10-39 age-group, contributing to a total population of 135 persons.

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<sup>1</sup> Relevant Tables are 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3.

<sup>2</sup> Equally, epidemics would usually affect the most susceptible population i.e. youngest and oldest: 0-10 years and 60+ age-groups. This is not the case.

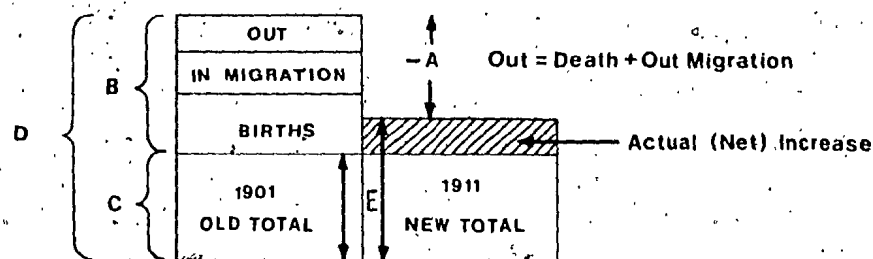
This confirms that only a part of the out-migration from Grand River is drawn to South Branch, and it must be concluded that the rest of the families went entirely outwith the study area.

Table 4.2 refines the data somewhat, showing the percentage lost in the four areas under consideration who are in the labour force/marriageable women age group i.e. 14-40 years. The three older-settled areas of Highlands, Grand River, and Little Codroy River show a 33-38% of their total population loss to be in this age group in 1901-1911, and show in the following decade a similar loss which now includes South Branch. Balancing this, the figures for "theoretical in-migration" are offered for the same places. Theoretical in-migration is the figure which is arrived at when the surplus of persons over and above those who are accounted for by birth statistics is calculated. South Branch is shown as receiving its main flow of in-migration in 1901-1911, as oral evidence confirms, but within this time period Little River is shown as receiving a substantial inflow of population - 15% of the total population.

This 15%, however, can be accounted for by two main sources of input which have been established for the area at this time. One is an influx of Newfoundlanders from the south coast (from Burgeo, Grand Jervis, Rose Blanche, Port aux Basques, and Mouse Island) whose names appear in the Searston register in this time period, and also on later cadastral survey maps. The other is an influx, also mainly of Newfoundlanders (plus a few Cape Breton Irish) attracted to the area by the advent of the railway. Oral evidence for the arrival of these families, and their subsequent appearance in the Searston register confirms

this. The most important factor, for this study, is that these people are not Scots and do not, therefore, affect the argument that out-migration was occurring among the residents of Little River, most of whom were Scots (the remainder being French).

Finally, Table 4.3 shows the "theoretical population loss" for the census periods 1901-1911 and 1911-1921 balanced against the theoretical in-migration figures for the study area. Since cohort analysis gives only net in-migration and loss (i.e. net loss after in-migration is accounted for), it has been found necessary to refine the technique such that gross figures can be calculated for population loss.



Theoretical Pop. Loss  $-A = E - D$  Where  $D = (B + C)$

The diagram shows the calculation of theoretical population loss (gross). Theoretical population loss ( $-A$ ) (i.e. the number of people lost to the area either by death or out-migration) equals theoretical population increase ( $B$ ) (i.e. all persons who would be added to the previous census total if no-one was lost: births plus in-migrations plus death/out-migrations) plus total population of the previous census year ( $C$ ); both i.e.  $(B + C)$  - making a total "theoretical population" ( $D$ ), which is subtracted from the actual population shown in the census ( $E$ ).

That is,  $-A = E - D$  where  $D = (B + C)$ .

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- affinal links** - Kin links through the female line, i.e. "affines are people married to our consanguines" (Fox).
- 'affinal endogamy'** - Marriage within the kin group via the female line i.e. not same surname.
- agnatic** - Through the male line.
- caretaker** - In Newfoundland and Labrador, a settler who lived over the winter months in an area, in order to take care of fishing premises and gear for the seasonal fishery.
- chain migration** - A self-perpetuating migration system, from specific origin to specific destination, operating over an extended time period.
- clachan (Gaelic)** - Clustered hamlet of blood kin in Scotland, with an economic basis in conjoint farming.
- clan (Gaelic)** - "An extended family, broadly based in the present ... tapering to a few dimly-seen ancestors some generations back" (Macpherson). See Chapter II.
- clann (Gaelic)** - "Children". Localised kin group / groups of a sliochd. See Chapter II.
- cognatic descent group** - Group in which descent is traced both agnatically and affinally.
- consanguinity** - Blood relationship. Marriages within certain degrees of consanguinity are forbidden by the Roman Catholic Church.
- crowd** - In Newfoundland and Labrador, an extended kin group.
- duthchas (Gaelic)** - Right of ancient possession. Established when a family had maintained effective occupancy of a farm or township for three generations. Thereafter, as tacksmen, they followed one another in the tenancy by patrilineal succession (after Macpherson).
- endogamous marriage** - Inside the kin group (same surname/clan/settlement); specific use defined adjectivally.

- eponym - One who gives his name to a lineage.
  - exogamous marriage - Outside the kin group/clan/settlement; specific use defined adjectivally.
  - extended family - The nuclear family with other relatives, living in close proximity or under the same roof.
  - gardening - In Newfoundland and Labrador, subsistence horticulture.
  - intervale land - The fertile flood plain of a river. Often meadow land.
  - kin group - Group of relatives - single persons and/or families who are located in close proximity, or who are maintaining active family ties.
  - matrilineal inheritance - Inheritance through the female line.
  - nuclear or conjugal family - Husband, wife and their children.
  - patrilineal inheritance - Inheritance through the male line.
  - patronymic - A surname which identified the clansman. Patronymics had varying degrees of familiarity which related to clan, clìochd, clann or nuclear family.
  - relict feature - A feature on the cultural landscape which no longer fulfils its original purpose, but which has a modern adaptation, enabling it to survive.
  - sliochd - "Lineage". Major branch of a clan. See Chapter II.
  - tacksman - A leading man in a kin group in Scotland. The tenant of a conjoint farm, who sub-let to other members of the kin group, and who received his tenancy from a land owner.
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